SANSKRIT INSCRIPTIONS OF DELHI SULTANATE 1191-1526

PUSHPA PRASAD

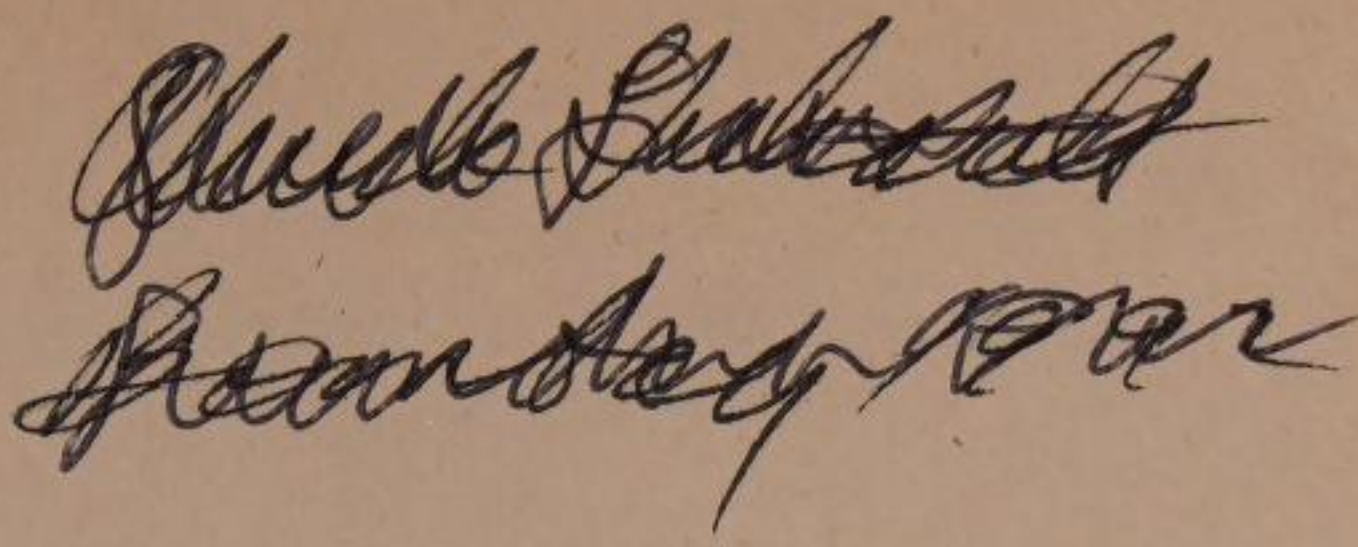
SHOUT
SHARE
IT

Inscriptions have served as a major source of political history of ancient India, and they remain valuable for the social and cultural history of medieval India, where political history is covered in detail by chronicles. Pushpa Prasad's collection of inscriptions in Sanskrit and related languages dating from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century is an important addition to the source material on the Delhi Sultanate.

This collection is a comprehensive one for Delhi and Uttar Pradesh (excluding the Himalayan districts). It follows the most rigorous standards set for the publication of epigraphic documents, giving the decipherment, an annotated translation, and complete information about the locales of the inscriptions and the historical significance of the texts. The Introduction sums up the information given by these documents and relates them to what is known about relevant matters from other sources. Curiosities have not been ignored, as it is often from what are curiosities today that inferences may be derived tomorrow.

The volume contains eighteen illustrations, reproducing the original text of the most important inscriptions, and a full descriptive index.

The author, a Reader at the Aligarh Muslim University, has been working on epigraphic sources and medieval texts like the *Lekhapaddhiti* for some years and has published a number of papers in different journals.



Sanskrit Inscriptions of Delhi Sultanate
1191–1526

SANSKRIT INSCRIPTIONS OF DELHI SULTANATE
1191–1526

PUSHPA PRASAD
READER IN HISTORY
ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY

CENTRE OF ADVANCED STUDY IN HISTORY
Aligarh Muslim University

DELHI
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
BOMBAY CALCUTTA MADRAS
1990

Oxford University Press, Walton Street, Oxford OX2 6DP

NEW YORK TORONTO
DELHI BOMBAY CALCUTTA MADRAS KARACHI
PETALING JAYA SINGAPORE HONG KONG TOKYO
NAIROBI DAR ES SALAAM
MELBOURNE AUCKLAND
and associates in
BERLIN IBADAN

© Pushpa Prasad 1990

SBN 0 19 562123 9

Filmset by All India Press
and printed by Rekha Printers Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi 110020
and published by S.K. Mookerjee, Oxford University Press
YMCA Library Building, Jai Singh Road, New Delhi 110001

For Smriti

Preface

This book is a revised version of my doctoral thesis under the supervision of Professor K.A. Nizami, to whom I am greatly in debt. I was also priviledged to receive encouragement from Professor S. Nurul Hasan, who first suggested that I should work on Sanskrit inscriptions. My special thanks go to Professor Irfan Habib from whose advice I have benefited considerably in dealing with Persian material and in preparing the book for the press.

Professor R.S. Sharma scrutinized the text of the book and made important suggestions which I incorporated as carefully as I could. It was at his desire that I identified metres while editing the texts of all the versified inscriptions. Dr S.R. Sarma, Reader, Sanskrit Department, Aligarh Muslim University, and Dr Raghubir Shastri, former Head, Department of Sanskrit, Shri Varshney Degree College, Aligarh, gave me unstinted assistance in deciphering difficult inscriptions and interpreting them. My colleague, Dr S.P. Verma, helped me in taking impressions and photographs of the inscriptions and obliged me by reading all the page-proofs.

I have also been fortunate to have benefited from the personal interest and advice of some of the most renowned scholars, namely, Mr G.S. Ghai, Dr K.G. Krishnan, Dr Z.A. Desai, Dr J.P. Joshi, Professor B.B. Lal, Dr K.V. Ramesh and Dr M.C. Joshi, who helped me in every possible manner, including supplying photographs of inscriptions.

My grateful thanks are due to the authorities of the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Varanasi, the State Museum, Allahabad, the State Museum, Lucknow, the State Museum, Mathura, the Red Fort Museum, Delhi, the Archaeological Survey of India Library, New Delhi, the Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh Muslim University, and the Research Library of our Department for their co-operation and help, including permission to publish material from their collections.

I cannot pass without acknowledging the encouragement and help received from Professor Shireen Moosvi, Dr Iqbal Husain, Mr Iftikhar Ahmad Khan and Dr M. Afzal Khan.

My daughter, Smriti Prasad throughout showed her indulgence in many ways during the preparation of this work, which was necessarily a stressful undertaking.

I am grateful to the Centre of Advanced Study in History, Aligarh Muslim University, for including this book in its publication programme and to the Oxford University Press for publishing it in their usual punctilious manner.

None of these whose assistance has been of such value to me are of course responsible for any errors that remain; for these I crave the indulgence of the reader.

ALIGARH PUSHPA PRASAD

Contents

PREFACE vii

LIST OF PLATES x

ABBREVIATIONS xi

SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION xiii

INTRODUCTION xv

PART I INSCRIPTIONS OF DELHI 1

PART II INSCRIPTIONS OF UTTAR PRADESH 43

APPENDICES

A Qutb Minar Inscriptions of 16th and 17th Centuries 216

B Sanskritized Forms of the Names of Sultans and other Persons 218

BIBLIOGRAPHY 221

INDEX 231

List of Plates

(*between pp. 128 and 129*)

I	Palam Baoli Inscription
II	Stone Inscriptions at Delhi Museum
III	Naraina Stone Inscription
IV	Sarban Stone Inscription
V	Mubarakapur Kotala Bilingual Inscription of Sikandar Lodi
VI	Belkhera Pillar Inscription
VII	Machchlishahr Copper-plate Inscription of Gahadavala dynasty of Hariscanda
VIII	Mahoba Fort Copper-plate Inscription
IX	Etawah Fort Inscription
X	Stone Inscription in Jhansi Fort
XI	Manikarnika Ghat Stone Inscription
XII	Allahabad Inscription
XIII	Etawah Fort Inscription
XIV	Son Stone Inscription
XV	Lalitpur Stone Inscription
XVI	Bhitari Pillar Inscription
XVII	Basti Copper-plate Inscription
XVIII	A Stone Inscription of the Reign of Sikandar Lodi

Abbreviations

ABORI	Annals of Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona
ARIE	Annual Report of Indian Epigraphy
AR	Asiatic Researches
AR, ASI	Annual Report of Archaeological Survey of India
ASR	Cunningham's Archaeological Survey of India Reports
ASI, New Series	Archaeological Survey of India Reports, New Series
Bhandarkar's List, or BL	List of Inscriptions of Northern India in Brahmi and its Derivative scripts from about 200 A.C. *EI*, XIX–XXIII (Appendices)
CII	Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, IV, pt. I. II (ed) V.V. Mirashi
DHNI	Dynastic History of Northern India
EI	Epigraphia Indica
GDI	Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India, by N. Dey.
IA	Indian Antiquary
IHQ	Indian Historical Quarterly
JASB	Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal
JASB NS	Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal, New Series
JAHRS	Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry
JBORS	Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society
JESHO	Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient
JOBI	Journal of Oriental Baroda Institute
JIH	Journal of Indian History
JRAS	Journal of Royal Asiatic Society, London.
JRASB	Journal of Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal
JUPHS	Journal of U.P. Historical Society

Memoir, No. 22	*Historical Memoir On Qutb, Delhi*, Memoirs of Archaeological Survey of India, No. 22, by J. A. Page
Monumental Antiquities	*A Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions of North-West Province of Agra and Oudh*, by A. Führer
PRASI, NC	Annual Progress Report of Superintendents of Archaeological Survey of India, Northern Circle
Procee. ASB	Proceedings of Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal
S	Samvat
T.M.	*Tārikh-i-Mubāraka Shāhi*
V or Vim.	*Vimśopaka*

System of Transliteration

Vowels

अ = a	आ = ā	इ = i	ई = ī	उ = u	ऊ = ū
ऋ = ṛ	ॠ = ṝ	ऌ = ḷ	ॡ = ḹ	ए = e	ऐ = ai
ओ = o	औ = au	अं = ṁ	अः = ḥ		

Consonants

क = k	ख = kh	ग = g	घ = gh	ङ = ṅ
च = c	छ = ch	ज = j	झ = jh	ञ = ñ
ट = ṭ	ठ = ṭh	ड = ḍ	ढ = ḍh	ण = ṇ
त = t	थ = th	द = d	ध = dh	न = n
प = p	फ = ph	ब = b	भ = bh	म = m
य = y	र = r	ल = l	ळ = ḷ	व = v
श = ś	ष = ṣ	स = s	ह = h	

anusvāra	= ṁ	visarga	= ḥ
upadhmānīya	= ḥ	jihvāmūlīya	= h

Introduction

Writing in 1944, Dr Bendrey remarked that inscriptions lose their 'special' significance when written chronicles begin with the advent of Muslim rule in India.[1] This is, of course, broadly true, but in spite of the loss in relative significance, their number increases enormously after the establishment of the Sultanate. For some regions and dynasties they even continue to retain their importance as primary sources. In general, inscriptions give us some valuable information on non-political history, on which the chronicles have little to offer.

In view of their large number, the study of inscriptions has to be kept within a particular time span. The present work is therefore confined to the Sanskrit and Nagari inscriptions of the Sultanate period (1191–1526) found in the present State of Uttar Pradesh (excluding the Himalayan districts) and the Union Territory of Delhi. We follow the known boundaries of modern times, for the borders of the dynastic states of the period studied constantly changed. Further, numerous inscriptions do not refer to any ruling power, let alone give a reference by which their dynastic affiliation can be identified.

1. *Texts of the Inscriptions*

One hundred and twenty inscriptions are covered in our study. All the texts incised and engraved on stone or on copper-plates have been included and arranged in a chronological order; these are, however, arranged in two separate groups, group I for those found in Delhi, and II for U.P. The separate grouping of the Delhi inscriptions has no particular reason to support it, except the convenience of having all the Sanskrit and Nagari inscriptions of this metropolis in one sequence.

Many of the inscriptions in the present collection have been published and translated by scholars, including James Prinsep,

[1] V.S. Bendrey, *A Study of Muslim Inscriptions* (Bombay 1944), pp. 26–7.

A. Cunningham, F. Kielhorn, R.L. Mitra, D.R. Bhandarkar, and H.L. Sastri. But many texts have been printed without stampages or photo-reproductions, and in several cases where I was able to check with the originals, inaccuracies in decipherment were noticed. Moreover, a number of inscriptions have not been published so far, and their texts (as well as translations) appear here for the first time. There must be many inscriptions which exist but remain hidden from us, still covered by earth, or lying in private collections or in private buildings.

As far as possible, every inscription (published or unpublished) has been deciphered here afresh from the originals or from stampages. The latter have been seen at the Chief Epigraphist's Office in Mysore, the Lucknow Provincial Museum, the Mathura Museum, the Bharat Kala Bhavan at Varanasi, the Allahabad Museum, and the Delhi Fort Museum. I obtained direct impressions of some inscriptions upon personal inspection. Unfortunately, stampages of some inscriptions could not be obtained even after personal visits to the sites due to the mutilated condition of the stone or because the inscriptions had been removed from their original find-spots. In some cases (always noted), I have had to rest content with previous decipherments.

2. *Language and Script*

Inscriptions in Sanskrit, corrupt Sanskrit and local languages are invariably found written in the Devanagari (or Nagari) script. This script which had already completed its evolution by the end of the twelfth century, was generally used in North Indian inscriptions. Many of these inscriptions are in classical Sanskrit (nos. II, 4, 6, 40); others show corruptions because of the influence of local dialects (no. II, 10). In course of time, the vocabulary of these inscriptions begins to show the increasing influence of Persian, and there is also a growing drift towards Hindi vocabulary and expression. The first inscription with a long text in identifiable Hindi comes from Agra, and is dated A.D. 1521 (no. II, 99).

Possibly the earliest known record, dated v.s. 1078/A.D. 1022, in the Hindi language, is found on a Jain image from Sheopur district, Madhya Pradesh.[2] This was followed by numerous Hindi

[2] *Annual Report, Archaeological Department*, Gwalior State, v.s. 1992, (Gwalior 1939), No. 39.

inscriptions, mostly on images and sati stones, again in Madhya Pradesh.[3] A few brief inscriptions from Kalinjar included in our collection (nos. II, 90, 91, 92), datable to the fifteenth century, appear to be in a local Hindi dialect.

The growing influence of Persian is exemplified by the use of Persian words, viz., *sāhi* (Pers. *shāh*) (no. II, 45), *buniyād* (no. II, 71 (d)), *dīhā* (Pers. *deh*) (no. II, 67) *bād hukum farmāni* (Pers. *ba'd ḥukm-u-farmān*) (no. II.87), *umarvidarāz* (Pers. '*umr darāz*) (no. I, 20) and *saṁgtrāśa* (Pers. *sangtarāsh*) (Appendix A). Bilingual (Sanskrit and Persian) inscriptions also begin, the first known in our collection being that of A.D. 1517 (no. II, 18).

Some inscriptions are composed entirely in verse, some in mixed prose and verse, while others are wholly in prose. Inscriptions on stone and copper-plate usually follow a customary order. At the beginning of the text, and occasionally at the end, there is found a symbol or word or passage in adoration of a deity. The words *siddhaṁ* and *oṁ svasti* commonly occur at the beginning of the inscriptions. Among other auspicious symbols we have the *svastika* and the words *oṁ namaḥ śivāya.*

Sometimes we find the representation of a lotus, a floral design, a circle or some other symbols at the end and beginning of the section in the inscriptions belonging to regional dynasties. Representations of a Śivalinga, Nandin, a cow with a calf, the sun and moon, or the Goddess Lakśmī are also characteristic of the Sanskrit inscriptions of this period.

Where a ruler is the donor, a *praśasti* giving his name and achievements is set out in a highly exaggerated manner. An elaborate description of the donee and the rights or property granted follows. The end of the text is indicated by a punctuation mark or imprecatory verses. Finally, the date, the name of the draftsman of the text and the engraver are recorded.

Various styles of script are found in the inscriptions of different dynasties, viz., the Gāhaḍavāla, Candella, Sharqi and Ghori dynasties. In one inscription (no. II, 61), engraved by two different engravers, the style and size of the letters are perceptibly different. The variation is often in the degree of stylization of the form of letters, ranging from ornamental to cursive. The Candella dynasty inscriptions (nos. II, 23, 31, 32, 40, 41, 42 and others) are distinguished by their ornamental writing. Here, uniformity in the

[3] D.C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy* (Delhi 1965), pp. 55–6.

curve of each letter is a unique characteristic. The simplest form of letters can be seen in inscriptions from other areas of U.P. and Delhi.

A word about the material on which inscriptions are inscribed. Stone is the principal material. The practice of issuing copper-plates gradually disappeared.[4] The inscriptions of Muslim rulers are wholly limited to stone slabs and the walls of buildings. Perhaps the use of paper for all official documents made copper-plates obsolete. The use of stone slabs as the material for record confined inscriptions almost exclusively to buildings such as mosques, temples, and wells. Quite obviously this reduced the scope of their information; but their increasing number should outweigh this disadvantage, especially for the art and social historian. Nor is their information insignificant for political history, as we shall see.

3. *Information on Dynastic and Political History*

The inscriptions published in this volume add in several respects to the information for political history that we derive from literary sources.

It is generally assumed, for example, that the battle of Chandawar in A.D. 1193 marked the end of the Gāhaḍavāla dynasty. But the Belkhara pillar inscription (no. II, 5) and the Machhlishahr copper-plate inscription (no. II, 6) clearly indicate that a part of the Jaunpur and Mirzapur territory remained under the control of the Gāhaḍavālas till A.D. 1197. Furthermore, the Etawah fort inscription (no. II, 18) suggests that the neighbourhood of Etawah, so close to Chandawar, remained in the hands of Ajayasimha, a kinsman of Jayaccandra of Kannauj.

As for the Candellas, all students of their history are deeply indebted to H.C. Ray's *Dynastic History of Northern India* and the *History of Candellas* by N.S. Bose. Bose gives a detailed account of the Candellas up to A.D. 1311 or to the reign of Rājā Hammīravarmandeva. But our inscriptions extend the story to later times. Cunningham reported three inscriptions (text of only one recovered: no. II, 54) at Ajayagaḍh fort, which mention the name of the king Vīra and which are dated A.D. 1315. It is possible that king Vīra was the

[4] Bendrey remarks that history suffered a great loss due to the negligence of the system of issuing copper-plates by Muslim rulers (*A Study of Muslim Inscriptions*, p. 27).

successor of Hammīravarmandeva. The absence of full epithets with the name of the ruler, Vīra or Vīra *nṛpa* suggests a further decline in the position of the Candella rulers. It is possible that the Candella chief had now become a feudatory of the Sulṭāns of Delhi.

Inscription no. II, 74, mentions the name of Paramārddi, Paramārddi might be yet another minor ruler of the Candella dynasty, with his seat at Raisin near Kalinjar in A.D. 1409.

The inscriptions at Ajayagaḍh, Kalinjar and Mahoba forts suggest that these places were important seats of the Candella rulers. Inscriptions nos. II, 8, 14, 24, 41, 42 show the officers controlling the forts to have been appointed by the Candella rulers.

The Ajayagadh fort is always referred to in inscriptions under the name Jayapuradurgga and Nandipura. Various stone inscriptions of Ajayagaḍh fort preserve the names of some of the queens; they also set out the geneologies of the ministers who installed different images of gods and goddesses at different temples in the fort (nos. II, 15, 16, 31, 32, 33, 42).

Coming back to western Uttar Pradesh, inscription no. II, 62 suggests that Śuroddharaṇa, a Cauhan ruler, controlled Etawah in A.D. 1350 when Muḥammad Tughluq was the Sulṭān of Delhi. Later references to this chief in the *Tārikh-i Mubārak Shāhī* corroborate the testimony of this inscription, though there might be an error in its date. Similarly, the Chunar fort inscription (no. I, 59) is rare in providing information about a king of Kāśi, Svāmirājā and his minister Sairāja, who later joined the services of Muḥammad Tughluq as *āmātya*. It also furnishes the geneology of the king Svāmirajā. Contemporary Persian sources are silent about both these persons.

The Deogarh fort inscriptions (nos. II, 84, 85) record the name *Ṣuratrāṇa* (Sulṭān) *Mahārājādhirāja* Maḥmūd Shāh Khaljī of Malwa (1436–69) and prove that the territory was within Malwa at that time. The Lalitpur stone inscription (no. II, 75) reveals interesting details of Hoshang Shāh of the Ghori dynasty; we are introduced to his non-Muslim wife Ambikā as well as his son Holī, who was a patorn of Jainism. The earlier title of 'Alp Khān' borne by Hoshang Shāh according to the Persian sources, is found here in its Sanskritized form 'Ālambha khān'.

These records constitute an important source for the history of different regions and localities, furnishing us with information well-keyed to chronology. Since the chronicles of the Delhi Sultanate

provide facts relating mostly to the more powerful dynasties, these inscriptions add valuable supplementary details about local dynasties or potentates. The Basti copper-plate inscription (no. II, 67), for example, furnishes information about the Sārnet Rajputs who ruled over Bansi tahsil in A.D. 1360; it also tells us that the chief, Dharam Singh, after dividing his patrimony with his kinsman Jai Singh, granted a village to a brāhmaṇa. Obviously at that time these local potentates were fairly autonomous, a fact confirmed by Baranī in his references to the *rāi* of Gorakhpur in the early years of Fīrūz Tughluq's reign.[5]

From some inscriptions we get just the names of local chiefs, though these for the moment do not add much to our knowledge of even dynastic history. The Marpha fort inscription (no. II, 60) mentions the name of Rājā Siddhitunga (A.D. 1347); Mahārājā Virajadeva, chief of an unknown locality (A.D. 1349), is said to have died at the Sangam (no. II, 61); and Rājā Bāhaḍīn was the chief of Son in Mathura district in A.D. 1452 (no. II, 64).

4. *Geographical Divisions, Place-names, Coins*

The words indicating a particular type of territorial or administrative unit were often suffixed to place names. The word *grāma* defines a village, just as *pura* and *nagara*, represent a town or township. The Persian word *deh* for a village intrudes in the form *ḍīhā* in the Basti copper-plate grant of A.D. 1360 (no. II, 67) *Viṣaya*[6] refers to a small territorial division; so also the *pratigaṇaka* or *pratigaṇa*.

In inscriptions the word *pratigaṇa* or *pratigaṇaka* occurs for the first time in the early thirteenth century (nos.I, 9, II, 10, 11). This term is used for a territorial unit in Paramara inscriptions and seems to be the Sanskritized form of *parganā*. The earliest reference to a *parganā* in that form occurs in a Persian inscription of A.D. 1249[7].

[5] Baranī, *Tārīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, ed. Saiyid Ahmad, Bib. Ind. (Calcutta 1862), pp. 557–8.

[6] The literal meaning of '*Viṣ* is a settlement, dwelling place and community or tribe. Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, s.v. According to Sircar *viṣaya* is used to indicate 'a district' in late ancient Indian inscription (*Indian Epigraphy*, pp. 378, 383; *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, Delhi 1966, p. 377). R.S. Sharma suggests that *bhukti* was divided into *Viṣayas* or districts under the Guptas. (*Aspects of Political Ideas and Institutions in Ancient India* (Delhi 1959), pp. 244–5.

[7] Paul Horn, 'Muhammadan Inscription from the Suba of Delhi', *Epigraphia Indica*, II, pp. 136–7. The reading, however, is not altogether certain.

Its first appearance in Persian historical literature, is in 'Isāmī's *Futūḥ-us Salāṭīn*, once with reference to Delhi and then in the context of the Deccan, and later on in Afīf's *Tārīkh-i Fīrūz-Shāhī* in the latter half of the fourteenth century. It seems then that this is a fairly later administrative division, with no likely history before the thirteenth century.

Inscriptions offer the best testimony for the earlier indigenous names of various places, e.g., Yognipura, Indraprastha and Ḍhilli for Delhi (nos. I. 4, 10, 11.); Pālamba for Palam (no. I. 4), and Gurajjar for Gujarat (nos. I. 4, II, 19).

Besides this, other place names are also recorded in inscriptions: Kauśamyapura identified with Kośāmbi (no. II. 40); Jogitirth and Sukrakshetra with Soron (nos. I. 35, 86); Mandapaura with Mandu (no. II, 75); and Vodamayutā with Badaun (no. II, 11).

Many of the place-names recorded in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries still continue with hardly any changes in them, e.g., Kerala, Andhra, Maharashtra, Karnataka, etc. (no. I, 4). Local areas like Naraina, Sarban (nos. I. 10, 11), Kasrak and Nigohi (no. II, 11), identified as villages, are still known by the same names.

Curious references to early medieval coins occur in inscription nos. II, 9, 11. Sums are here stated in coins called *dramma* (in the Jaunpur inscription, dated A.D. 1217) *vimśopakas* (in an inscription at Kasrak, Katehar dated A.D. 1227). These seem to be coins preceding the *tankā* (silver) and *jītal* (fractional piece, 1/48 or 1/50 of a *tankā*) the currency established by Iltutmish (1210–36) and continued by his successors. It would then seem that throughout the thirteenth century earlier coins continued to be in use in parts of Uttar Pradesh.

5. *The Political Hierarchy*

The earliest Indian monarch known from epigraphic sources enjoyed the title of *rājā* or *lājā* (king). In course of time this title came to be replaced by higher-sounding titles, e.g. *Parameśvara*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *rājavali tray opeta* (endowed with the three royal titles commencing with *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*). The designations became so long as to require contractions such as *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Parameśvara*, *Paramamaheśvara* (nos. II, 5, 6, 23, 45).

The imperial rulers of Northern India were also called *Aśvapati*, *Gajapati*, *Narapati rājatrayādhipati* (noś. II, 5, 6) indicating the

traditional attributes of a *rājā* and may as such be regarded as the equivalent of the *triyo-rājavalitriyo*. This is an interesting expression of the concept of sovereignty, where the king is considered to be the lord of the three wings of the forces, namely, the cavalry, elephants and infantry.

Varied epithets were used during the twelfth to fifteenth centuries to represent the king or sulṭān. *Sulutrāṇa* and *sultrāṇ* were corrupt forms of the Arabic word *sulṭān* (nos. I, 8, 14, 18 and II, 59, 69, 70, 85, 95). *Pātishāh* (Persian *Pādshāh*) (no. I, 4) and *Hammīr* (Arabic *Amīr*) (no. I, 4), also occur. The Sanskrit form *Pātishāh* shows that the pronunciation *Bādshāh*, used in Indo-Persian later on, had not yet taken root. The Sanskritized forms of the names of Sulṭāns and other persons are given in Appendix B.

The Sanskrit titles used for the Sulṭān were *Nāth* (lord), *Bhupāla* (lord of the earth), *Bhavabhūmipati* (sovereign of the entire earth), *Nṛpati* (king), *Prithvīcandra* (earth-lord), *Rājapati* (lord of the state) and *Samarāṭ* (king) (nos. I, 2.4 and II, 65).

The term *Śaka* was also used to signify Muslim rulers (nos. I, 4, 10, 11 and II, 59). *Turuṣkas* (or *Turak*), *Mlecchas*, and *Yavanas* are terms employed for Muslims in hostile contexts (nos. I, 4, 10, 11 and II, 1, 18, 59).

A number of inscriptions show that in the early phase of the Delhi Sultanate, local chiefs were designated as *rāṇaka*, *rāuta* and *ṭhakkura* (nos. II, 3, 5, 8, 9, 11, 16, 23, 25, 27, 32, 41). Abbreviated forms of the titles, i.e., *rā* for *rāuta*, and *ṭhā* for *ṭhakkura*, are also used. The inscriptions indicate that the *rāṇakas* were regarded as the highest vassals and stood above the *rāutas* (no. II, 5). They often received land grants from the rulers, and could themselves grant lands out of their territories to lower vassals, *rāutas*[8] (no. II, 25). References to the *rāutas* occur in *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī* and Barani's *Tārīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*. In the passages of both the chronicles the *rāutas* appear to be captains of cavalry or horsemen.[9] The *Lekha-paddhati* shows how *rājaputras* (Skt. form of *rāuta*) sought land,

[8] The Rewah plate of v.s. 1297 gives the geneology of *Mahārāṇaka* Kumārpāla, who made the grant to *rāuta* Sange and five other *rāutas*. Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India Report*, XXI (Delhi 1969, pp. 145–8); *Indian Antiquary*, XVII, pp. 224, 230–34. Similar cases occur in other inscriptions. See, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, edited by V.V. Mirashi IV, pt. I, II (Ootacamund 1955), pp. 340–44, 419–23, 585–6.

[9] Minhāj Sirāj, *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāsirī* (tr.) H.G. Raverty, Bib. Indica 1897, p. 791; *Tārīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī* (text), p. 182.

undertaking in return to supply horsemen to their overlords, the *rāṇakas*.[10]

Another important dignitary was known as *nāyaka*[11] (nos. II, 34, 38). The *nāyaka* was apparently a military chief. It is also possible that in Persian texts the word *nāyak* has sometimes been misread as *pāyak*, especially in passages like the following:

> In the army of Malik Chajjū the Hindustani *rāwats* and *pāyaks* (*nāyaks*?) collected around him like ants and locusts; and the celebrated *rāwats* and *pāyaks* (= *nāyaks*?) obtained betel leaves from him.[12]

It is hardly likely that the humble foot-soldier could be referred to in such a context. The term *nāyaka* was adopted by the Delhi Sulṭāns as well, since a Hindu commander of 'Alāuddīn Khaljī was called Malik *Nāyak*.[13] Narrating the events of A.D. 1351 Baranī refers to the *nāyakas* of Oudh in a context indicating their military profession.

> Nāthu, son of Sodhal, a *nāyak*, had become the court chamberlain and used to brag about his war-like qualities before Ahmad Ayaz. . . . He used to see himself as a great hero among the *nāyaks* of Awadh.[14]

It seems from the subsequent placing of *nāyak* to *rāwat* in Barani's earlier passage, that in the hierarchy the status of *nāyaka* was inferior to *rāutas* just as the latter was inferior to *rāṇaka*.

By the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the term *ṭhakkura* had become merely a title and had no specific military or agrarian significance.[15] The Persian sources of this period do not refer to the

[10] *Lekhapaddhati*, edited by C.D. Dalal and G.K. Srigondekar, Gaeikwad's Oriental Series, XIX (1925), pp. 7–9; Cf. R.S. Sharma, *Indian Feudalism* (Calcutta 1965), pp. 200–1.

[11] A class of military vassals were known as *nāyakas*, some of them of *Vaiśya* caste. (*Indian Feudalism*, p. 194). Land grants were made to the *nāyakas* for maintaining a fixed number of soldiers for the service of the state in Ganga dynasty (*Indian Antiquary*, XVIII, pp. 171–2, 190); Sircar defines *nāyaka* as that one who held lands from Vijayanagara kings on the condition offering military services. (Cf. *Glossary*, p. 214; Krishna Kanti Gopal, 'Feudal Composition of Army in Early Medieval India', *J. of Andhra Historical Research Society*, XXVIII (1962–3), pt. III, IV, p. 36.

[12] *Tārīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, p. 182.

[13] Amīr Khusrau, *Khāzain-ul Futūh*, tr. Mohammad Habib, 'The Campaigns of Alauddin Khalji' (Madras 1931), p. 29.

[14] *Tārīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, p. 541.

[15] The term *thakkura* is supposed, rather weakly, to be a title derived from the Turkish word 'tegin'. See Sircar, *Glossary*, pp. 334–40; B.N.S. Yadava. *Society and*

term at all. It was, however, borne by kṣatriyas, brāhmaṇas and kāyasthas as a title of dignity. Inscriptions nos. II, 6, 16, 27, 32, 41 of the Gāhaḍavāla and Candella dynasties show that persons called *ṭhakkuras* received land grants, engaged in official work, and installed images of gods and goddesses. The Gāhaḍavāla grants are mostly written by *ṭhakkuras* who hold the office *Mahākṣpaṭalika* (chief record-keeper) (no. II, 6).

6. *Land Rights*

We are indebted to Professor R.S. Sharma for a critical examination of the nature of land-grants under the different dynasties of Northern India.[16] He suggests that the 'origin and development of political feudalism is to be sought in the land grants made to brāhmaṇs from the first century onwards.' Their number becomes 'considerable in Northern India in the Gupta period and goes on increasing afterwards'.[17] But land grants to non-brāhmaṇs or non-religious grantees begin only from the tenth century.[18]

Six inscriptions published in this volume record land grants made by the rulers and chiefs, most of which are to secular officials. Two of the grants (nos. II, 6, 23) make clear that what was granted was primarily the right to collect taxes. The principal tax seems to have been *bhāga-bhoga*, which is perhaps best translated as 'tax-portion' (of agricultural produce).[19] This term occurs in nos. II, 6,

---

Culture of Northern India (Allahabad 1973), p. 182, fn. 21. The form *ṭhākur* with an elongation of the first vowel is quite early occuring in the Boria statue inscription of Kalachuri era 910/A.D. 1158–9; the term also occurs in the Maner plate of the Gāhaḍavāla ruler Govinda Candradeva in 1124 (?); it is also found in Raipur stone inscription of Brahmadeva of V.S. 1458/A.D.1401–2. But in our inscriptions this form occurs only once, in no. II, 99 of A.D. 1521. Apparently it became common in later times only).

[16] Sharma, *Indian Feudalism*, pp. 79, 168–78, 263–4.

[17] Ibid., p. 263.

[18] Ibid., pp. 171, 192, 223, 226, 242, 264, 278; B.N.S. Yadava, *Society and Culture in Northern India*, pp. 141–6.

[19] The term *bhāga-bhoga* occurs frequently in the inscriptions of the Pālas, the Senas, the Gāhaḍavālas, the Candellas, the Paramāras, the Calukyas and others. It has been taken by some as a single levy and in others as two distinct taxes, *bhāga* and *bhoga*. U.N. Ghoshal takes it as one single levy and thinks it to be the king's share, identical with *bhāga* of the *Arthaśāstra* and *bāli* of the *Smṛitis* (*Contributions to the History of Hindi Revenue System*, Calcutta 1929, p. 214.) Cf. D.N. Jha, *Revenue System in Post-Maurya and Gupta Times* (Calcutta, 1967), pp.42–4, 57–8, 64–5;

23; and no. II, 6 lists other taxes (*kara*) levied on trade, water-produce, salt and betel leaf. In addition, no. II. 23 shows that the grantee exercised a general right to derive income from ('enjoy') 'the village with its houses and surrounding wall, with its ingress and egress and the other sources of wealth within and without its boundaries'. This suggests that beside tax rights, the grantees were assigned at least the 'residential' rights of possession. The grantee shared in royal authority as well, since according to the same inscription 'the Brāhmaṇs, respected family members, Dutas, Vaiśyas and Cāṇḍālas and others' of the village were to obey the grantee. The inclusion of Cāṇḍālas among the recipients of the grantees' instructions is not without interest. The 'Vaiśyas and Cāṇḍālas' presumably form the entire body of the peasants and outcast labourers of the village.

Five of the six grants (nos. II, 6, 23, 25, 41, 45) are explicitly made in perpetuity. Thus the grants would appear generally to have created hereditary non-resumable rights.

The inscriptions furnish us with some important information about the grantees. Inscription no. II, 41 states that the ruler Ganda appointed Jajuk, a Vāstavya kāyastha dignitary, as 'superintendent' and gave him the village of Duganda. His descendent, Maheśvara, was given the village Pipalihika and was appointed *viśiṣa* of Kalinjar by the king Kirtivarman. Then, Vāseka, a member of this family received the grant of the village of Vaibhai. Members of this kāyastha family held important offices under the Candella kings from Ganda to Bhojavarman.

Inscription no. I, 40, records the geneology of Nānā who was a minister of Bhojavarman, and belonged to another kāyastha family. The ancestors of Nāna are said to have been hereditary ministers (*saciva*) of the Candellas. The Baghari inscription (no. II, 4) gives the geneology of a brāhmaṇa family whose members also served under Candella kings as hereditary ministers (*saciva*).

Successful officers or generals were sometimes rewarded with assignments of lands. The Charkhari plate of Candella king Vīravarman (no. II, 23) mentions the grant of a village in Dahi *viṣaya*,

---

Lallanji Gopal, *The Economic Life of Northern India* (Delhi, 1965), pp. 32–7. To D.C. Sarkar *bhoga* signifies periodical offerings (*Glossary*, pp. 47–8); but *bhoga* in our inscriptions appears so paired with *bhāga* that it is difficult to regard it as a separate levy.

to a *rāuta* in recognition of his outstanding bravery in the battle at Sondhi in A.D. 1254.

Inscription no. II, 25, is of some interest, in that it shows a grant made by a great vassal and not by the sovereign. The inscription recites that *rāṇaka* Abhayadeva of the Yadava family granted village Sakela to Sulhaṇ Bhandārī, son of *rāuta* Sāḍheka, during the reign of Vīravarman of the Candella dynasty in v.s. 1318/A.D. 1262.[20] Here the *rāṇaka*, in making the grant does not seem to have sought prior permission from his suzerain, Rājā Vīravarmma, though the latter has apparently confirmed the grant through the present inscription.

The *rāṇaka* would thus seem to have enjoyed powers of a subordinate ruler in his principality. It is also significant that of all the known grants under the Candella dynasty this is the only case of a person other than the *rājā* making a grant.[21]

The *rāṇakas* and *rāutas* could also sell and purchase land, since land mortagages involving them are recorded. In the Jaunpur brick inscription (no. II, 9) we find a *rā* (*rāuta*) mortgaging his field with two other *rāutas* in consideration of a loan of 2250 *drammas*. Surety in this case was taken by *rāṇaka* Śrī Vāghadeva 'subject to such conditions as were enforced by the king'. The Mahoba copper-plate (no. II, 11) says that when *Suratrāṇa* Samastdin (Sulṭān Iltutmish) in v.s. 1283/A.D. 1227 had encamped at Badaun, *rāuta* Cāce of Bāchhil *gotra*, resident of Kasrak, advanced money to three brāhmaṇas of the Bhāradvaja *gotra* and executed a deed (*Gudāṅita patra*) for four villages. The brāhmaṇas pledged themselves to pay in coins called *viṁśopakas* and also pay the *ṣaṭṭraṁśatyādāya*. The reverse side of the same plate v.s. 1290/A.D. 1234 records that the same creditor advanced money to four other persons of the Garg *gotra* and executed a fresh deed. In this deed three villages are named; the creditor is to obtain certain amounts in *vimśopakas* and the *ṣaṭṭraṁsatyādāya*. The record is followed by a number of endorsements in which the names of debtors or their sons (with fathers' names) and the amounts in *viṁśopakas* payable annually along with the *saṭṭraṁśatya* are recorded. The latter seems to be a fiscal right to a share ('1/36th') of the crop: it seems to be a kind

[20] R.S. Sharma suggests that towards the end of the Gāhaḍavāla rule some *rāṇakas* set up independent principalities (*Indian Feudalism*, pp. 174–5).

[21] I have checked the list of the inscriptions recorded by N.S. Bose, *History of Candellas* (Calcutta, 1956); H.C. Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, (Calcutta, 1936), II.

of superior right (cf. *satārahi* or *biswī* of later times).[22] Clearly, if the debts were not repaid, the *rāuta* would have extended his possession over the rights enjoyed by the debtors in the seven villages involved in the two transactions.[23]

7. *Merchants and Professional Classes*

The inscriptions also tell us something about merchants. Inscription no. I, 4, dated A.D. 1276 (Delhi) introduces us to a merchant Uḍdhara who belonged to a good family, was a resident of Ucca and claimed the title of *ṭhakkura*. The reference to Ucca (the famous town near Multan) is of some interest. Apparently the prosperous merchant (a 'Multāni' *ala* Baranī?) had migrated from Uchh to settle in Delhi. Ins. nos. I, 10, 11 (dated A.D. 1327, 1328) give detailed accounts of two families of merchants of the villages of Naraina and Sarban near Delhi. The two families belonged respectively to the Rohitaka and Agrotaka sects of the Baniya caste. It seems that these Hindu merchants formed a very important and wealthy community at Delhi in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Baranī in the *Fatawā-i Jahāndārī* refers to the high status of Hindu merchants at Delhi;[24] he also tells us how they gained immense wealth by advancing loans to Balban's nobles and by long distance trade under 'Alāuddīn Khaljī.[25] Our inscriptions corroborate what this celebrated historian had to say about this class.

The kāyasthas, a professional group which in course of time developed into a separate caste in Hindu society, appear in one of the inscriptions with the designation *divija* (twice-born) (no. II, 41).

It appears from some inscriptions of Ajayagaḍh, Kalinjar and Charkhari (nos. II, 14, 39, 41) that during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the kāyasthas rose in prominence through their learning and acquisition of offices. During the time of Paramardi-

[22] See the commentary on no. II, 11, for a more detailed discussion.

[23] These mortgage deeds can be compared with a Rewa plate of Rājā Trailokyavarman of Candella dynasty of AD 1212. Here with his status and the power the *rāṇaka* still engaged in land transactions with others, *EI*, XXV, pp. 1–6; Sharma, *Indian Feudalism*, p. 170.

[24] *Fatawā-i Jahāndārī*, tr. by M. Habib and A.U.S. Khan. *The Political Theory of the Delhi Sultanate*, p. 48.

[25] *Tārikh-i Fīruz Shāhī*, (Text), pp. 113, 120, 164, 298, 353. Cf. Irfan Habib in *The Cambridge Economic History of India*, I, (1200–1750), London 1982, edited by Tapan Ray Chaudhari and Irfan Habib, pp. 85–6.

deva of the Candella dynasty, one Gadādhara, who came from Gauḍa and was a kāyastha, attained such fame that he was appointed the minister of war and peace (no. II, 4). The kāyasthas belonged to various parts of India. The name of the place of their origin came to be appended to their castes. Thus, some were known as Gauḍa kāyasthas (from Gauḍa or Bengal), others as Vāstavaya, from the Vastu (region not located), and Māthur from Mathura (nos. II, 40, 41, 68).

8. *Building and Builders*

A number of inscriptions are concerned with the construction of buildings, such as temples and forts as well as reservoirs, *bāolis*, wells, bridges, *satī* pillars, *dharamaśālas* and platforms for images.

The inscriptions at the forts of Kalinjar, Ajayagaḍh, Deogarh, Mahoba, Etawah, Chunar and Marpha, help us to trace the fragments of their history which would have otherwise remained barely known.

Inscriptions nos. II, 4, 29, 40, 41, record the construction of Śiva and Viśnu temples at the Ajayagaḍh fort. Similarly, images of different Tirthankars were also installed at the Jain temples in the fort (nos. II, 29, 33).

The holy city of Varanasi is well known for its temples. The inscriptions which survive from our period (nos. II, 3, 47, 49), belong uniformly to Śaivite temples.

Inscriptions nos. I, 4, 5, 8, 10, 11, concern wells (including a *bāoli*) built by rich merchants during the time of the Delhi Sulṭāns in the vicinity of Delhi. One well was constructed at the behest of a princess of the royal family, ʿĀyisha, a sister of Sikandar Lodi (no. I, 18). Similarly, the queen of Vīravarman, a ruler of the Candella dynasty (no. II, 24) had a well constructed at Ajayagaḍh.

Buildings such as the Qutb Minar and mosques at Jaunpur are important repositories of inscriptions. The Jaunpur inscriptions (nos. II, 47, 71) show that mosques were built out of the rubble of older Hindu buildings, though they had naturally to be laid out and built according to standard Islamic designs. Yet there is not only a composite style in secondary architectural forms, as in the Jaunpur mosques and the Arahai Kangura Masjid of Varanasi,[26] but also

[26] Similar style in architecture can be seen in the buildings: Arāhai din-kā Jhoparā (Ajmer), Kamal Maula Masjid, Lat Masjid at Mandu and Dhara. Percy Brown *Indian Architecture*, (Islamic period) (Bombay 1942) pp. 6, 49, 63.

clear and unambiguous epigraphic evidence of Hindu craftsmen being employed.

The Qutb Minar Sanskrit inscriptions (nos. I, 1, 2, 3, 6, 8, 9, 13, 14, 17, 19), besides numerous Arabic and Persian inscriptions on that celebrated tower, provide a fairly firm account of its erection and repairs at various dates, one even giving very interesting measurements (though, alas, hard to interpret). Significant information on the construction of the Atala Masjid, and Lal Darwaza Masjid at Jaunpur comes from inscriptions nos. II, 47, 71.

Some of our inscriptions give us the names of the architects, masons, engravers and carpenters. The following terms for artisans occur in inscriptions: *śilpi* (craftsman, architect)[27]; *sūtradhāra* (mason);[28] *sutār* and *dārukarmakāra* (carpenter); and *uccakāra* (engraver). It is clear from the inscriptions that the *śilpī* and *sūtradhāra* performed manifold duties. Inscription no. II, 4, tells us that the 'son of Somraja, the steadfast Maharaja, who rouses the admiration of all *śilpiṣ*, engraved it'. On the other hand, inscription no. II, 14 suggests that a *śilpī* architect (name not known) was engaged in repair work at the Qutb Minar.

Inscriptions related to repair work at the Qutb Minar (nos. I, 9, 13, 14, 17) give us the names of certain masons: Nānā Sālhā, Lolā, Cāhaḍadevapāla, Laṣman, Hariman Gaveri. The name Nānā is found in two inscriptions (nos. I, 13, 14) and so also Laṣman (nos. I, 9, 14). Inscription no. I, 14 also records the name of the carpenter Dharmuvāṇani, who was employed in the repairs of the Qutb Minar during the reign of Fīrūz Shāh Tughluq.[29]

Similarly, the Jaunpur inscriptions (no. II, 71: a, b, c, d, e) of the Atala mosque have preserved the names of the mason Paṭman, son of Vīsaihava. Inscription no. II, 72 of the Lal Darwaza Masjid

[27] The term *śilpi* is derived from the word *śilpa* (root, *śīla*), means art and craft. Monier, Williams, *Sanskrit English Dictionary*, s.v.; see also, R.N. Misra, *Ancient Artist and Art Activity*, (Simla 1975). pp. 2–6.

[28] The literal meaning of *sūtradhāra* is 'one who holds the thread'. The term occurs frequently in inscriptions from the sixth century onwards. One of the references to a *sūtradhāra* is found in the fifth century inscription in Ajanta Cave, no. XV; and in the inscriptions of Pāṇḍu-vaṁśī kings of south Kosala. (Cf. M.K. Dhavalikar 'Sutradhara', *Annals of Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, 1971, p. 216). The variants *Sūtrabhṛit*, *sūtradhātri* and *sūtradhārin* also occur; we also get a *sūtradhāra pitāmaha*, 'the very best amongst the artisans', and *gajadhara* as synonymous to *sūtradhāra*. (cf. Sircar *Glossary*, pp. 108–329).

[29] The point about Hindu masons working in the Qutb Minar has been especially made by M. Mujeeb, *Islamic Influence on Indian Society* (Delhi 1972), p. 118.

records that Visadru's son, Kamau, was the architect (*śilpī*).

The *sūtradhāra* seems also to have been engaged in stone work. Inscription no. II, 5 informs us that *sūtradhāra* Jalahaṇa erected the pillar at Belkhera for the fame of *rāuta* Sakru. Another inscription no. II, 69) shows the *sūtradhāra* Sirmā setting up a *satī* pillar. The term could also be used for an architect or supervisor. Inscription no. II, 9 informs us that Manu-Vijaya was the main architect in A.D. 1506 when repair was carried out at the Kalinjar fort.

The term *uccakāra* for engraver occurs in inscriptions nos. II, 4, 24. It is however not found in the dictionaries I have consulted.

It is, of course, of considerable significance that Sanskrit inscriptions, set up by Hindu artisans or supervisors of works, should have been so freely allowed to be installed within mosques, even though these contain invocations to gods in the traditional Hindu style. In inscription nos. I, 14, and II, 47, 71, Hindu masons address their deities, *Viśvakarma* (God of creation), *Gaṇapati* (Lord of *Gaṇa*), *maṁgala mahā śrī* (favourable fortune and great felicity), and also use the invocations, *oṁ* and *svasti*.

The erection of pillars to declare the victory or fame of rulers and to assert their supremacy was not uncommon amongst Indian rulers.[30] These architectural pieces were known as *Kīrttistambha* (a pillar of fame) or *Vijaya-stambha* (pillar of victory). The Qutb Minar (though strictly a tower, not a pillar) was naturally interpreted by the authors of its Sanskrit inscriptions as a victory memorial, and not an adjunct (for the call to prayer) to the great mosque. Thus inscription no. I, 3 describes it as the 'pillar of fame' of Malikdīn; and (no. I, 6) the *Vijaya-stambha* (victory pillar) of 'Alāuddīn.

Memorial stone-pillars, known as *satī* pillars, became numerous during our period. Inscriptions nos. II, 51, 58, 64, 69, 81, 88 come from such *satī* pillars. They were raised in honour of widows who immolated themselves on the death of their husbands. All the widows for whom inscriptions have been left, belonged to families of chiefs; it was obviously an aristocratic custom.

Pillars were also erected by chiefs simply for the engraving of inscriptions (no. II, 5). An epigraph (no. II, 95) records that a bridge was constructed by Vuḍhaṇa, a minister of Sikandar Lodi.

9. *Religious Life*

Since most Sanskrit inscriptions begin with an invocation to

[30] Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, p. 72.

different deities and contain information about the construction of temples and the installation of images of gods and goddesses, these often reflect the religious views or attachments of the authors (or scribes) of the inscriptions. The three religious strands, reflected most heavily in inscriptions are Śaivism, Vaiṣṇavism and Jainism.

Śaivism appears to have been prevalent in all parts of Northern India. The epigraphic evidence (nos. II, 4, 24, 25, 41, 43, 62, 92) tends to show that it laid claim to special devotion from the Candella rulers.[31] Śaivism also seems to have been strongly established at Varanasi during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries to judge from the temple-inscriptions (nos. II, 3, 47, 49) which are all Śaivite.

Invocations to Viṣṇu also occur, and the construction of Viṣṇu temples is recorded in some inscriptions (nos. II, 4, 35, 38, 40, 92). *Narsiṁha* (the man-lion incarnation), *Varāhavatāra* (the boar incarnation), and *Vāmanavatāra* (the dwarf incarnation) were the more usual forms in which Viṣṇu was worshipped by the Candella rulers.

Other gods frequently mentioned in inscriptions (nos. II, 16, 18, 25, 38, 42, 47, 54, 59), or to whom temples were dedicated or whose images have been installed are Pārvatī Gaṇeśa, Laksmi, Durgā, Devī, Krishṇa, Gaurī, Gaṇapati, Rāma and Brahma (nos. II, 15, 18, 32, 38, 40, 42, 59, 91).

Jainism is fairly well represented in our inscriptions. The images of Jain Tirthankaras often contain inscriptions on their pedestals. These record the names of devotees who dedicated or installed the images. The practice became so popular among the Jains that hardly any image or sculpture of their deity was left without such engravings of the names of devotees (see nos. I, 15 and II, 19, 20, 29, 30, 33, 35, 55, 75–6, 78–85, 89).

Most of the Jain inscriptions belong to the Nandi saṁgha of Balātakāra-Gaṇa of the Śvetambara sect. Ajayagaḍh, Etawah, Lalitpur and Deogarh have particular concentrations of Jain remains.

We have already referred to an aspect of religious environment evidenced by the installation of Sanskrit inscriptions in mosques. A similar atmosphere of inter-communal harmony is suggested by a bilingual inscription of the Lodi period.

The inscription (no. I, 18) dated A.D. 1517, records the construc-

[31] The numerous inscriptions of the twelfth century mention grants and donations made to the famous Nilakanth temple situated within the fort of Kalinjar. (*EI*, I, pp. 126–8, 132–4; *ASR*, XXI, pp. 34–8, plate No. X, A,B.C.D.E.F.G.H.)

tion of a well, in both Sanskrit and Persian.[32] The well was constructed by a Muslim aristocrat named in the inscription under the patronage of a lady of the ruling family. The use of Sanskrit for a 'counter-part' inscription suggests that the constructors of the well expected it to be used by Hindus also, and desired that their names as public benefactors should reach them as well through the medium of Sanskrit.

10. *Dating*

The eras used in our inscriptions include the Vikrama Samvat, Śaka and Hijri. In one of the inscriptions, the Hijri equivalent of the Indian date is given side by side (no. I, 18). Inscription no. II, 47 records a fourth era, the *Plava* Samvat.

In the decipherment of dates, there has been some difference of opinion among modern scholars. The matter has been discussed under the respective inscriptions, wherever the decipherment is in dispute.

In the texts of the inscriptions which are composed in prose, the dates are either stated in words or indicated in figures or both. In some inscriptions word-symbols are employed in place of numerals. In inscription no. I, II the date is indicated by the terms *veda*, *vasu*, *agni* and *candrikā*, which stand respectively for numbers 4, 8, 3 and 1. Putting them in reverse order, according to convention, we get 1384 (Vikrama Samvat). Similar instances occur in other inscriptions (nos. II, 4, 25, 49, 62).

[32] Another bilingual inscription of Tilbegampur in Bulandshahr distt. similarly records the construction of a *bāoli* or step-well during the reign of Humayun A.D. 1538). *Proceedings of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1875, pp. 15–16.

Part I
Inscriptions of Delhi

1. Three Date-Inscriptions at Qutb Minar

(a) *Reported in Annual Progress Report of the Superintendent Archaeological Survey, Hindu and Buddhist Monuments, Northern Circle (PRASI, NC)* (Lahore, 1920), 1918–19, p. 7; J.A. Page, *An Historical Memoir on the Qutb*: (Delhi 1970) No. 22, p. 39; *ARIE*, 1958–9, List No. C 344; Cunningham, *ASR*, IV, p. v.

One of the three earliest inscriptions of the same year, this was found on the yellowish quartzite, on the first phase of the twenty-four sided foundation, on the right-hand side of the main entrance of the Qutb Minar. It is written in Nagari script and has one line. The date is Samvat 1256/A.D. 1199.

Text: समत् (संवत्) १२५६

Translation: Samvat 1256

(b) Reported by Cunningham, *ASR*, IV, p. V; Page, op.cit., No. 22, p. 39; *ARIE*, 1958–9, List No. C 346.

Found on a yellowish quartzite, on the left-hand jamb of the main entrance door of the fourth course, this inscription consists of one line written in Nagari script. It is dated Samvat 1256/A.D. 1199.

Text: समत् (संवत्) १२५६

Translation: Samvat 1256

(c) Reproduced by Cunningham, *ASR*, IV, p. VI.

This one line inscription was found on the underside of the lowest overlapping archstone in the entrance passage. It is written in Nagari script and is dated Samvat 1256/A.D. 1199.

Text: संवत् १२५६

Translation: Śamvat 1256

These three records of the same year on the ground storey of the Qutb Minar suggest that the erection of the Qutb Minar began in 1256/A.D. 1199. No earlier Arabic or Persian dated inscription is found on the Qutb Minar. In any case it may be presumed from these records that the base of the structure of the Minar had been laid out as early as A.D. 1199.[1]

2. Qutb Minar Inscription

Reported by Page, *Memoir of Qutb*, No. 22, p. 39; *ARIE*, 1958–9, No. C 348.

Found on the jamb of the main entrance door in the ninth course of the Qutb Minar, this inscription is written in a local dialect in Nagari script. No date is given. The reading is uncertain and no impression has been published.

The inscription records the name of a reigning king. It is presumed that this refers to the Cāhāmāna ruler Pṛthvīrāja. If so, this slab may have originally belonged to another structure.

Text: पिरथी निरपः (पृथ्वी नृपः)

Translation: 'The king (Nirap) Pirthī'.

3. Qutb Minar Inscription

Reported by Page, op. cit., No. 22, p. 39; *ARIE*, 1958, No. C 350.

This inscription was found on the left jamb of the fifth slit window on the stairs of the Qutb Minar. It is written in a local dialect in Nagari script and consists of four lines. The inscription belongs to the twelfth or thirteenth century.

It records the name of Malikdīn. Malikdīn comprises two Arabic words *malik* 'ruler' (at this time used for nobles and generals), and *dīn* 'faith'. This may be a short form of Malik (Quṭbuddīn).

[1] Page, *Memoir of Qutb*, No. 22, p. 39.

The text is interesting because of an early use of the Hindi possessive *kī* in the first line, suggesting that the engraver was writing in a local dialect rather than in corrupt Sanskrit.

Text:

१ मलिक दीन की कीरतिरम्भ (कीर्तिस्तम्भ)
२ स्वस्ति। भवतु ?
३ मलकदीन (मलिक दीन)
४ मलकदीन

Translation[2]*:*

This is the pillar of fame of Malikdīn.
May it bring good fortune.
Malakdīn (Malikdīn.)
Malakdīn.

4. Palam Baoli Inscription

Reported by Bhandarkar, 'List of Inscriptions of Northern India in Brahmi and its derivative scripts from about A.D. 200'. Appéndices of *Epigraphia Indica*, XIX–XXII (Delhi 1938), No. 598; J. Ph. Vogel, *Catalogue of Delhi Museum of Archaeology* (Calcutta 1908), pp. 18–20; Ins. No. B 3; *ARIE*, 1966–7, No. C 2356; Sir Sayyid Ahmad in *Asar-us Sanadid* (Delhi 1965), pp. 237–40; Rajendra Lal Mitra, 'Note on Palam Baoli Inscription of Delhi', *JASB*, (Calcutta 1874), XLIII, Pt. I., pp. 104–10; *DHNI*, II, p. 1146. Preserved at the Red Fort Museum, Delhi.

This famous inscription was found in a *bāoli* or stepped well at the village of Palam (now well known because of the airport), 12 miles south-west of Delhi. Thirty-one lines written in Sanskrit in Nagari script are engraved on a slab of black sand-stone which measures 1' 9" in length and 3' $10^1/_2$" in width. At present the upper proper right-hand corner is broken and the first *akṣara* of the word *svasti* lost with the sacred syllable *oṁ*. In the first and last two lines, several letters are indistinct.

Some peculiarities in orthography appear in this inscription. A consonant combined with *r* is doubled e.g. *Perujasāhir* = *bbabhuva* (4) *pūrṇṇ* (1-6), *pravālair* = *vvahati* (6) *saṁcūrṇṇyamāna* (9), *gurjjaraḥ* (10), *jaladhir* = *vviḍrāvya* (11) and *samṁrāt* (8). A final sibilant is sometimes retained if necessary with assimilation, before an initial sibilant, e.g. *vikshobhitas* = *satrūn* (8), *nripatis* =

[2] Page's translation slightly modified.

sammrāt (8) and *putras — sāḍālī* (24). No difference is made between *ba* and *va*. Nasals are expressed by *anusvāra* e.g. *sakeṁdraih* (3), *Gaṁgā* and *Siṁdhu* (7). *Jihvāmūliya* and *Upadhmāniya* symbols are also found, e.g. *kshoṇireṇucchātā bhih* = *kavlita* (9), *Lātāh* = *Kirātā* (10) and *prasaśtih* = *kirāṭa*, *Upadhāmāniya* = *Samusadinah* × *Perujasahi* (4) and *uttamarājah* = *putras* (24). The aspirated hard guttural *kha* is denoted by the cerebral sibilant *ṣ*.

At the end of the present inscription there are three couplets, but their text is considerably damaged, and, as they stand, the language of the verses is not intelligible or even identifiable.[3] However R.L. Mitra classifies it as Rajputana Hindi. But according to Vogel, Mitra has failed to observe the script in which it is written. This part of the inscription is not written in Nagari but in Śāradā script. This script was hitherto believed to have been exclusively used in Kashmir and neighbouring districts of the Punjab Hills.[4] It seems that the alphabets of Śāradā Gurmukhi are used in this area also. Dated v.s. 1333, the 13th day of the waning moon in the month of Śrāvaṇa, Wednesday/13th August, A.D. 1276.

The inscription begins with a salutation to Gaṇapati and Śiva. The author of the inscription apparently considers Delhi to be in 'Hariyānā'. This is a very early use of this name for the region; the earliest, perhaps is in Minhāj Sirāj's *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī*, completed during A.D. 1259–60,[5] and so practically contemporaneous with the present inscription. The inscription enumerates the rulers of 'Hariyānā', beginning with the Tomaras and the Cauhanas (individual rulers not named). The names of the Sulṭāns (Śaka kings) then follow. It is a surprisingly full list coming down to Ghiyāṣuddīn Balban (1266–86). The names given are:

'Sāhavadīna', Shihābuddīn (Mu'izzuddīn)
'Khuduvadīna', with the title of 'Bhupāla', Quṭbu'ddīn Aibak
'Samusadīna', Shamsuddin I'tutmish
'Pheruz Sāhi', Ruknuddīn Fīrūz
'Jalāladīna', Jalāluddin (Razia)
'Maujadīna', Mu'izzuddīn Bahrām
'Alāvadina', 'Alā'uddīn Mas'ūd

[3] The full text of these lines is given by Vogel. See *Catalogue of Delhi Museum of Archaeology*, p. 28.

[4] Ibid., p. 20.

[5] *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī* (tr. Raverty), II, p. 850.

'Nasaradīna', Nāṣiruddīn Maḥmūd
'Śri Hammīra Gayāsdīna', Ghiyāṣuddīn Balban

Balban is accorded titles such as *nāyaka*[6] and *hammīra*[7]. The different Sanskritized titles, however, have not been used as specific titles but only as general titles for the sovereigns. It may be noted that the name of Aram Shah, successor of Quṭbuddīn Aibak, is omitted from the list. He was probably not officially recognized, having been overthrown by Iltutmish. Raẓiya is given the title Jalāluddīn, which appears on her coins.[8]

The inscription makes very exaggerated territorial claims for the *saurājya*[9] or empire of Ghiyāṣuddīn Balban. All rulers from Gauḍa (Bengal) to Gajjana (Ghazni) and including the south (Drāviḍa) up to Adam's Bridge (Setubandha) are said to have paid homage to Balban. His soldiers bathed daily at the mouths of the Ganges and the Indus. He subdued the rulers of Gauḍa, Āndhra, Kerala, Karnāta (Karnataka), Mahārāṣtra, Gurjjara and Lāṭa.[10] The attribution of these conquests to Balban (except for Bengal) are mere

[6] *Nāyaka* was an important military dignitary, (Sharma, *Indian Feudalism*, p. 194; Sircar, *Glossary*, p. 214). *Nāyaka* was also given as a title by Sulṭāns to some of their own officers. Barani, *Tārīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī* (text), p. 182. Amīr Khusrau, *Khāzain-ul Futūḥ*, tr. Muhammad Habib, *Campaigns of Alauddin Khalji*, p. 29.

[7] The word *hammīra*, *hamīra* or *hamvīra* appears to be a corruption of the Arabic word *amīr* (commander) derived from the root *amr* (command). (Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, p. 341). The title *Amīr-ul Mūminīn*, 'Commander of Faithful,' was used for Caliphs since the days of Umar. (*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, I, pp. 330–4). Stein has shown that *Hammīra* of Kalhaṇa, who was a contemporary of Sāhi Trilochanpala and the Kashmiri king Sangrāmarāja (A.D. 1003–28) must be identified with Maḥmud of Ghazni (*Rajatarangiṇi*, VII, verses 53–64). The word *hamīra* in Nagari characters has been found in some of the gold coins of Sulṭān Mu'izzuddīn (Muḥammad bin Sām), in the legend *Śrimad Hamīra Mahamad Sām* (Wright, *Catalogue of the Coins of Indian Museum, Calcutta* (Oxford 1907), II, p. 117; Thomas, *The Chronicles of Pathan Kings in Delhi* (London 1871), p. 20. No. 18). From this time onward up to the reign of Balban, the epithet *Śri Hammīra* occurs as the regular designation in the Nagari legend for the Ghurian and Delhi Sulṭāns in their coins and inscriptions. (Wright, ibid., pp. 17–33; Thomas, ibid., pp. 15, 127, also pp. 50–51 fn. 1; *JASB*, XLIII, pt. I, p. 108, pl. X).

[8] Some of her coins bear the title, *Jalāl-u-dduniya wā dīn Malika*, Wright, op.cit., p. 2, no. 93. The title is not assigned to her in the *Ṭabaāt-i Nāṣirī*.

[9] The literal meaning of *saurājya* is 'good government', being derived from *su* (good) and *rājya* (government). The word occurs in *Panctantra*, *Kathā Saritsāgar* and *Rājatraṅginī*. Otto Bohtingk and Rudolph Roth. *Sanskrit Worterbuch*, s.v.; also Kalidasa, *Raghuvaṁsa*, *V*. sarga, verse 60. R.L. Mitra's suggestion that *saurājya* is a synonym of Saurashtra or Surat (?) is not plausible. (*JASB*, XLIII, pt. I, p. 108).

[10] *Lāṭa* is the name of a country said to lie to the west of Narmada; it probably

literary fiction. The present instance thus reinforces the need for extreme caution when one comes across claims of this sort in the inscriptions.

Fictitious as these conquests are, they do provide us with a list of the regions of India as seen from Delhi. It is of considerable interest to compare the list in the Palam Baoli inscription with the list of linguistic regions given by Amīr Khusrau a little over four decades later in his *Nuh Sipihr*, viz., Sind, Lahaur, Kashmir, Kabar, Dhaura-samandar, Tilang, Gujar(at), Ma'bar, Gaur, Bengal, Awadh and Delhi.[11] Another list occurs in the Ladnu (Jodhpur) inscription of 1316 in which the following regions are listed: Bang, Tilang, Gurjar, Karnātaka, Gauḍa and Pāndyan.[12] Dhaurasamandar (Duarasamudra) is, of course, Karnātaka and Ma'bar is the same as 'Pāndyan'. The other regions need no comment.

The object of the inscription is to record the excavation of a stepped well (*bāoli*) to the east of the 'Pālamba' and west of 'Kusumbhapura'[13] by Uḍḍhara a householder of Ḍhilli[14], of which this inscription specifically identifies with Yoganipura, the name usually found in Jain texts.[15]

It seems that Uḍḍhara belonged to a family of some status; he is

---

included Broach, Baroda and Ahmadabad and Khaira. V.S. Apte, *Practical Sanskrit English Dictionary*, s.v.; Cunningham, *The Ancient Geography of India* (Varanasi 1963), p. 367; N.L. Dey, op.cit., p. 48.

[11] *Nuh Sipihr* (text) ed., Wahid Mirza (London 1905), pp. 179–90.

[12] Rama Shankar Awasthy and Amalananda Ghosh, 'References to Muhammadans in Sanskrit Inscriptions in Northern India A.D. 730–1320', *JIH*, XV, pt. II (Madras 1936), pp. 182–3; *E.I.*, XII, p. 23.

[13] The territory 'Kusumbhapura' could not be identified.

[14] The modern name of Delhi seems to be derived from the word 'Ḍhilli'. The first reference to it occurs in Bijolia inscription of Someśvara v.s. 1226/A.D. 1169 in the form of Ḍhillika. (*DHNI*, II, pp. 1060, 1077.) From this time onwards the form met with in the inscriptions is Ḍhillī as here. (See *supra*, inscription nos. I, 10, 11).

[15] Yoganipura was the capital of Madanapala, a ruler of the Tomar dynasty in v.s. 1222/A.D. 1166 (Sharma, *Early Chauhan Dynasties*, p. 60; Jinapala's *Khartargachcha pattāvali*, p. 22). Jinapala's account shows that Yoganipura was a place of Jain pilgrimage, there being numerous references to the pilgrimages of many Jain Acāryas of Kharatargachch at this place. (Ibid., pp. 55, 68, 69, 75, 77, 79). Jinapala says that during the reign of Quṭbuddīn (1316–19), son of 'Alāuddin, Jinachandra Suri, on a pilgrimage with his followers, travelled from Mathura to Tilpat near Yoganipura. (Ibid., p. 69). Tilpat was a well-known village to the south of Delhi; it was the point where troops marching out to the south from Delhi usually assembled (*Tārikh-i Fīrūz Shāhi*, pp. 107, 272, 420).

given the title of *ṭhakkura*.[16] His father came from Ucca (Uccapura) said to stand on the confluence of the Satluj, the Beas and the Chenab with the Indus, a very important piece of evidence for the river courses of the time. This statement suggests that the Satluj and the Beas had separate courses throughout and the two rivers met the Chenab and the Indus near Uchh. This puts into dispute the very existence of the Panjnad and that of its meeting point with the Indus at Mithankot at that time.

The inscription refers to the construction of a *dharmaśālā* by Uḍḍhara. The *dharmaśālās* or free inns have a long history in India going back to at least the fifth and sixth centuries.[17]

The references to Ucca (Uchh) as the native place of the builder's father is of some interest. Uchh stood in proximity to Multan; and the Multanis formed a very important and powerful community of Hindu merchants at Delhi. Barani makes frequent references to them; he tells us how the Multanis gained immense wealth by advancing loans to the nobles of Ghiyāṣuddīn Balban.[18] Uḍḍhara, who was evidently very rich, may well have been a prosperous merchant and moneylender. The title *ṭhakkura* was probably a laudatory epithet, such as *shāh* or *mahājan*. Barani indeed tells us that the rich Hindus of Delhi were called '*rājās*, *rānas*, *ṭhakkurs*, *shāhs*, *mehtas* and *pandits*' by their servants and others[19]. Two other long Sanskrit inscriptions from Delhi (nos. I, 10, 11) were set up by merchants in the next century.

[16] The term *ṭhakkura* had become merely a title and had no specific military or agrarian significance in the thirteenth century (Sircar, *Glossary*, pp. 339–40).

[17] The Sanskrit words *sattra-mandapa*, *sattrani* and *sattraśālā* are used for rest-houses and for those where food and medicine are given free. Cf. *Brihadkāthā kosh*, *saṁgrah*, 18 Sarg. V. 355–7; Kalhaṇ's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, II, V. 58; *Kathā-Saritsāgara*, 20, 157, 21, 92. In Pali the word *Dhamma-śālā* is used for rest houses. (Bhadanta, Ananda Kaushalyayan, *Pali Hindi Kosh*, (Delhi 1975), s.v. Beal says that the words Pur-yang-she-lo, Fo-she and Tsieng-lu used in Chinese stand for *punnyaśālā* or house of charity or for keeping the poor and the unfortunate. They provided them free medicine and food, clothing and other necessaries. *Buddhist Records of the Western Wor!d*, (Delhi, 1969), I, pp. 166, 198, II, 214, n, 303; Watters, *On Yauan Chwang's Travels in India* (Delhi 1973), I, p. 288. It seems that the word *Dharma-śālā* is a synonym of the original Sanskrit word *sattraśālā*.

[18] Irfan Habib, 'Economic History of Delhi Sultanate', *The Indian Historical Review* (January 1978, ICHR), IV, No. 2, p. 295.

[19] *Fatawā-i-Jahāndārī* (tr. M. Habib. and A.V.S. Khan) *The Political Theory of the Delhi Sultanate*, P. 48.

Text:[20] *Plate I*

[ओम् स्व] स्ति [21]

॥ श्रीः ॥ गणपतये नमः॥ ओं नमः शिवाय

१. सृजति रक्षति संहरतीहयस्तिरयति (यः स्थिरयति) प्रतिबोधयति प्रजाः।
सभवतांभवतापहरोहरो भवतुभावुकचिन्तितदायकः ॥१॥ [Drutavilambita]

२. साम्राज्यस्याभिषेकश्रियममरधुनी यस्य मूर्द्धिन [22] प्रयाता
कुर्वन्ती या तरङ्गैरविरत विचलाच्चामरत्वं प्रयाति।
शुभ्राशोर शुभालावलय[22a] यति सितच्छत्रचक्रायमाण मानातीत्
प्रभावोभवतुम (सः) भवतां शङ्करः शङ्करिष्णुः ॥२॥ [Śragdharā]

३ अभोजि तोमरैरादौ चौहाणैस्तदनन्तरं
हरियानक भूरेषा शकेन्द्रैः शायस्तेऽधुना ॥३॥ [Anuṣṭubh]

४. आदौसाहव[व्ब]दीनस्ततः परंषुदुवदीनभूपालः
जातोऽस्य समु[23] सदीन(:) प्फेरूज (:फेरूज) साहिर्ब्बभू[23a] वभूमिपतिः ॥४॥ [Āryā]

५. पश्चाज्जलालदीनस्तदनन्तरमजनि मौजदीन नृपः।
श्रीमानलावदीनो नृपतिवरो नसरदीन पृथ्वीन्द्रः ॥५॥ [Āryā]

६. आगौडाद्गज्जणान्तद्रविड जनपदात्सेतुबंधात्समंतादन्तस्सतोंष
पूर्ण्णे सकल जनपदे प्राज्य सौराज्यराज्ये। यत्सेवायातयातक्षिति-
पति मुकुटोद्घट्टनभ्रष्टरत्न ज्वालाजाल प्रवालैर्बहति वसुमती वन्य
वासंत लीलां ॥६॥ [Śragdharā]

७ गंगासागर संगमं प्रतिदिनं प्राच्यां प्रतीच्यामपि स्नातुं सिधुसमुद्र-
संगममहोयत्सैन्यमाधावति। हेलान्दोलितपाणिकंकणरणत्का-
रेण [24] वारांगना यान्त्यायान्ति च निर्भया यदुदयाच्चित्राम्बराडम्बराः॥७॥
[Śārdūlavikrīḍita]

८. यत्सेनाग्रसरत्तुरंगमखुरप्रक्षेप विक्षोभिताश्शत्रूनत्र निवारयंति पुरतोदूरेण
भूरेणवः। सो[ऽ]यं सप्तसमुद्र मुद्रितमहीहारावली नायकः श्रीहम्मीर-
गयासंदीननृपतिस्सम्राट (ट्) समुज्जृंम्भ्रते ॥८॥ [Śārdūlavikrīḍita]

[20] Text as read by R.L. Mitra.
[21] This line is omitted by Mitra.
[22] Vogel's reading, मूर्ध्नि
[22a] Vogel's reading शुभ्रां शोरं श्रमाला,
[23] The akshara *s* is written above the line.
[23a] Vogel's reading माहिर्व्व
[24] Vogel's reading. रूणात्कारेण

९. यद्वाटीवेग धावत्तुरगखुरपुटापात संचूर्ण्यमानक्षोणीरेणुच्छाटाभि[:]
कवलितककुभि व्योम्नि संद्याछमाने। आदित्ययस्य प्रताप[25] स्थिरतर-
विसरद्दीप्तिभिस्साकमस्तं याति प्रायेण राजप्रभृतिषु गणना का
च रात्रौ दिवा वा ॥९॥ [Sragdharā]

१०. यस्मिन् दिग्विज़य प्रयाणकपरे गौडा निराडम्बरा अन्ध्रारन्ध्र-
परायणा भयवशान्निष्केलय: केरला:। कणर्णाटा[26] अपि
कन्दराश्रयपराभ्रष्टा महाराष्ट्रजास्त्यक्तोज्र्जाष्कि (:कि)-
ल गुर्ज्जरा समभवन् लाटा[:]किराटा इव ॥१०॥ [Śārdūlavikriḍita]

११. अस्सिन्राजनिब्विभ्रति क्षितितल शेषो[ऽ]पि
नि:शेषतो भूभारंसमपास्य वैष्णवमहाशय्यां पदं
संश्रित:। लक्ष्मीवक्षसि सो[ऽ]पि विष्णुरधुना प्रक्षिप्य रक्षा-
विधौ चिन्ता सन्ततिमाप्त दुग्ध जलधिर्ब्विद्राव्य निद्रायते ॥११॥

[Śārdūlavikrīḍitā]

१२. अस्यानेकमहापुरीशतपते राज्ञो मनोहारिणी ढिल्लीनाम महापुरी
विजयेते भल्लीव विद्वेषिणां। या पृथ्वीव[वा:]विचित्ररत्न-
निलया द्यौरिवानन्दिनी, या पाताल पुरीव दैत्यनिलया
मायेव या मोहिनी ॥१२॥ [Śārdūlavikrīḍita]

१३. श्रीयोगनीपुरमितिप्रथिताभिधाने ढिल्लीपुरे पुरपति-
(पुरपति: सुकृती) सुकृती वभूव। श्रीमानशेषगुणराशिरपेत
दोषो धीमानुदात्तमतिरुडढर नामधेय: ॥१३॥ [Vasantatilakā]

१४. वितस्ता विपाशा शतद्रूभिरामाभिर्म्मिलित्वामला चन्द्रभागा
विभागा। पुरस्तादुद[27] स्तैर स्तरङ्गैरभङ्गै स्थिता यत्र
सिंधु: सुबधुंस्सबधु: ॥१४॥ [Bhujangaprayātā]

१५. मुधा मधु मुधा सीधु मुधा दिवि सुधारस:।
येन सिंधु सुधा पीता तस्य ज्ञानसुधाप्यध: ॥१५॥ [Anuṣṭubh]

१६. तत्सिंधुदिव्यसुधया परिधौतभूमिम्भारस्थलै[:]
सकलतापहरे पवित्रे। उच्चैरूदंचति हसंत्यमरावतीमप्युच्चा-
पुरी सुरधुनी तटवासिनीं सा ॥१६॥ [Vasantatilakā]

१७. तस्यामस्यपिताभूद्हरिपालस्तत्पिता यशोराज:।
दुल्लहरस्तज्जनक: किथुरस्यपितेति पितृवंश: ॥१७॥ [Āryā].

25 The visarga and *i* stroke shown here are not in the original.
26 *ṭ* is absent in the original.
27 The syllable *d* is written beneath the line.

१८. उडढर माता चण्डी पृथुपुत्री पृथुपिता हरिश्चन्द्रः।
उत्साहणोस्य जनकः सहदेव सुतस्सतोल सुतः। तोल
पिता व्याघ्रहरः सिंह सुतो गौरपौत्र इति ॥१८॥[28]

१९. वंशावलीति प्रथिते प्रबन्धे वंशद्वयं पूर्व्वमभाणि संम्यक।[29]
अत्रापि तस्य स्मृतये प्रशस्तौ नामानि कामं प्रतिपादितानि ॥१९॥ [Indravajrā]

२०. इच्छाज्ञानक्रियाशक्तिरूपास्तिस्त्रो[ऽ]स्य योषितः। राजश्री
रत्नदेव्या जाजला ज्येष्ठ गेहिनी ॥२०॥ [Anuṣṭubha]

२१. तस्याश्चपुत्रो हरिराज नामा कायेन वाचा मनसा पवित्रः।
ख्यातश्चतुः षष्टि कला निधान प्रत्यक्ष विष्णु भुर्वनैकजिष्णुः ॥२१॥
[Indravajrā]

२२. अस्यानुजौ च स्थिरराजजैत्र संज्ञौ समंवीरडया विभातः।
स्वस्रापरस्याअपि मध्य मायाः पुत्री पुराभूद्धनवत्युदारा ॥२२॥ [Indravajrā]

२३. गुणराजभूपती अपि पुत्रौ द्वौ तदनु रत्नदेव्या श्च।
हरदेवो नाथ इतिख्यातः पुत्रोपि कन्यान्या ॥२३॥ [Āryā]

२४. उत्तमराजपु (:पु) त्र स्साडालीपुत्रिकेत्यपत्ये च। मूललता
शाखाफलकुसुमक[30] कल्पविटपनोऽस्येत्थं ॥२४॥ [Āryā]

२५. स्थाने स्थाने धर्मशाला विशाला का कानेनाकारि सत्रादि कर्त्ता।
किंत्वत्रापि श्रान्तपान्थश्रमार्त्तिच्छेत्ता वेत्रा वापिका काप्यकारि ॥२५॥ [Śāliṇī]

२६. पालम्बग्राम्र पूर्वे च कुसुम्भपुर पश्चिमे।
कृतात्र कृतिना वापी तृष्णा मोहापहारिणी ॥२६॥ [Anuṣṭubh]

२७. पीनोत्तुंग पयोधरा परिलुठद्धारावली विभ्रमा, तृष्णा भ्राम्यदनेक-
कामुक[31] जनक्लेशप्रशान्तिप्रदा। फुल्लन्मौलितरूप्रसूनपटल
श्रेणिश्रिया मोदिता वापीकापि महामुदं दिशतु वः
कान्तेवकान्ता दृशां ॥२७॥ [Śārdūlavikrīḍita]

२८. मानसमपिहसति सतां निजप्रसादेन कलुषमिति विहृषा।
निजविश्रान्त[32] विधात्री विधेवाध्यात्मवेदिनां भाति ॥२८॥ [Āryā, Udagiti]

[28] Stanza 18 consists of three half verses; the second and third with short syllable with 6th foot.

[29] Vogel's reading सम्यक्

[30] Vogel's reading कुटुंबक

[31] The *akshara k* is written above the line

[32] Read विश्रान्ति.

२९. अस्तु स्वस्ति समस्तवस्तुविषयाभोगोपभोग्यात्मभि-
भर्वैः पुत्र कलत्र मित्र जनता युक्ताय युक्तात्मने।
भक्तायोढरठक्कुराय महते स्वर्गापवर्गोदयानन्दायेन्दु कला
वतंसचरणद्वन्दैकनिष्ठात्मने ॥२९॥ [Śardūlavikrīḍita]

३०. अखंड प्रकाशेनयोगीश्वरेण प्रशस्तिः कृता पण्डितेन प्रशस्ता।
समस्ताशिषामेकपात्रास्य वापी निमित्तं सुविस्तारयत्युढरस्य ॥३०॥
[Bhujangaprayātā]

३१. संवत्सरेऽस्मिन् विक्रमादित्ये संवत् १३३३ श्रावण वदि १३ बुधे ॥३१॥
कि आशन्दीणा श्ररिताण रजि हरीआण इ देशह ॥ पंचकोश
ढ़िलीअहु। पंथि पालंम पवेश है जेठ माशि अठ (?)
— हि शे अष्ठ (?)
ह शनिवार ह पजिवाज भाइ शभति किअ उ कितणु
शंशार ह। शिक इ कुलेशि हरिपाल धरि। ठकुर
उढ़र धम जऊ जल हेऊ [अच]
श्रदि दुशंध (?) शंध विउ ॥ वा इ गकुशो
अ न भ ऊ लि —।

Translation:[33]

Śrī. Salutation to Gaṇapati/Oṁ/Salutation to Śiva.

1. May he, who creates, protects, and destroys the (universe)—he, who makes men steady and awakens them, that Hara, who fulfils the desires of his votaries, be the destroyer of the travails of this world to you all.

2. Reaching his head, the celestial stream anoints him as the emperor [of the universe]; and with her waves acts as the ever tremulous Cauri; the circle of the rays of the moon becomes his extremely white parasol; may that Śankara of immeasurable glory, cause your welfare.

3. The land of Hariyānaka was first enjoyed by the Tomaras and then by the Cauhānas. It is now ruled by the Śaka kings.

4. First came Sāhabadīna, then Khudavadīna, master of the earth, Samusdīna, then Pherujsāhi, lord of the earth.

5. After him Jalāldīna, and then was born king Maujadīna, [then] the glorious, and noble king Alāvadīna, and Nasaradīna, the lord of the earth.

6. In his kingdom, abounding in benign rule, extending from Gauḍa to Gajjana, from the Drāvida region and from the Setubandha [to the north], where the entire region was filled with inner content, the earth bore vernal floral charms produced by the rays of the innumerable precious stones and corals which dropped on it from the crowns of the bent heads of the rulers who came from every direction for his service.

7. He, whose legions daily traversed for a bath the earth both eastward to the confluence of the Ganges with the (Gangā-Sāgara) and westward to the confluence of the Indus with the sea. He, under whose reign courtesans, proudly dressed in many coloured raiments moved about without fear, filling the air with the tinkle of their bracelets, produced by the wanton movements of their hands.

8. The dust raised by the hooves of whose cavalry marching ahead of his army stops the enemies in front. He, the central

[33] I have followed R.L. Mitra's translation with changes.

gem in the pearl necklace of the seven-sea-girt earth, Nāyaka Śrī Hammīra Gayāsdīna, the king and the emperor reigns supreme.

9. When the great mass of dust raised from the earth trampled by the hooves of his fast-running horses, enveloped the quarters and the sky, the splendour of the sun along with his steadily spreading rays disappeared. It is but usual among kings that there is no count of days or nights.

10. When he went forth on a military expedition, the Gauḍas abdicated their glory; the Āndhras through fear sought the shelter of holes; the Keralas forsook their pleasures; the Karnāṭas hid themselves in caves; the Mahārāṣhṭras gave up their places, the Gurjjaras resigned their vigour and the Lāṭas turned into Kirāṭas.[34]

11. The earth being now supported by this sovereign, Śeṣa,[35] altogether forsaking his duty of supporting the weight of the globe, has betaken himself to the great bed of Viṣṇu; and Viṣṇu himself, for the sake of protection, taking Lakṣmi on his breast, and relinquishing all worries, sleeps in peace on the ocean of milk.

12. The metropolis of the lord of many hundreds of cities, the charming great city called Ḍhillī (Delhi) flourishes like a crescent-headed arrow on the side of his enemies. Like the earth, it is the storehouse of innumerable jewels; like the sky, a source of delight, like the nether regions, the abode of many *Daityas*; like *māyā* herself, the most bewitching.

13. In that city of Ḍhillī renowned under the name Yoganīpura there was a householder (?) the wealthy abode of innumerable good qualities, devoid of blemishes, wise, noble minded, given to meritorious acts, named Uḍḍhara.

14. Where the clear Candrabhāga joined the beautiful Vitastā, the Vipāsa and Śatadru; opposite is situated the Indus

[34] The epithet *Kirāṭ* is used with reference to the different races or a name of a degraded mountain tribe, who live by hunting. (Apte, op.cit., s.v.).

[35] *Śesa* is the name of a celebrated serpent said to have one thousand heads, and forming the couch of Viṣṇu or supporting the entire world on his head. (Apte, op.cit., s.v.).

(Sindhu), the good friend with its tributaries, without high waves (?).

15. Honey is useless, sugarcane juice (or alcohol) is useless, so is the nectar in heaven. If one drinks the nectar (like water) of the Indus (Sindhu), even his nectar of knowledge becomes insipid.

16. In this northernly region, in which the earth is washed by the divine nectar of Sindhu, which removes all kinds of distress, there is Uccapuri, which laughs at Amarāvatī (the city of gods) that is situated on the banks of the heavenly Gangā.

17. In that city lived his father Haripāla, whose father (was) Yaśorāja. His father was Dallahara, whose father was Kipu. This is his genealogy on the father's side.

18. Uḍḍhara's mother was Canḍī, the daughter of Pṛthu, whose father was Hariścandra; his father was Utsāhaṇa, the son of Sahadeva, who was the son of Tolā. Tolā's father was Vyāgharahara who was the son of Singha and grandson of Gaura.

19. In the work entitled Vaṁśāvali, the two genealogies have been given in detail; here in this record, the names have been taken to the extent desired to recall them to memory.

20. He had three wives, embodiments, as it were, of will, wisdom and energy. The eldest wife, Jājala (was accompanied by) Rājāśrī and Ratandevī.

21. Her (Jājala's) son was named Harirāja, pure in body, speech and mind, renowned, the abode of the sixty-four arts, apparently like Viṣṇu, the sole protector of the universe.

22. His two younger brothers named Sthirarāja and Jaitra shine forth along with a sister Virada. The second wife also had at first a daughter, the liberal minded Dhanavatī.

23. After her, Ratandevī had two sons, Guṇarāja and Bhūpatī. There was also a son, Haradeva, known as Nātha and also another girl.

24. She had also another son Uttamarāja and a daughter named Sāḍālī. Thus, we have here the root, stem, branches, fruits and flowers of this Wishing Tree.

25. Numerous and extensive free inns (*dharmaśālās*) were established by this performer of sacrifice in different places. But here, this wise one, with a view to relieving the exhaustion of tired travellers, had a well excavated.

26. To the east of the village Pālamba and to the west of Kusumbhapura, he made a well which quenches thirst and removes fatigue.

27. May this well, like a lovely woman with rotund, heaving breasts, gorgeous with undulating necklaces, be the assuager of the thirst of many a love sick swain and perfumed with the mass of petals from the flowery trees.

28. (This well), being very clear laughs at the minds of good people (or the Mānasa lake) taking it as turbid. Like the supreme knowledge of philosophers, it shines, causing restfulness to the self.

29-30. May this devout and noble Uḍḍhara *ṭhakkura*, whose pleasure rests in the final salvation in heaven, who is a devotee of Śiva, accompanied by sons, wives, friends and dependents, have the good fortune, to enjoy all the wordly pleasures.

31. The praiseworthy eulogy has been composed by Pandit Yogīśvara of eternal fame, to record the construction of this well of Uḍḍhara, the sole receptacle of all blessings.
In this year of Vikarmārka, in Samvat 1333 on the 13th day of the dark fortnight in the month of Śrāvaṇa on Wednesday.

In the kingdom of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣuddīn is the country of Hariyāna. Five *kos* from Ḍhillī, Pālam comes in the way. In the month Jeṭh, on Saturday....

5. Delhi Museum Stone Inscription

Reported in *Bhandarkar's list* No. 626; Noticed by Vogel, *PRASI* (*NC*) 1907–8, p. 10. No. 8. Vogel, *Catalogue of Delhi Museum of Archaeology* (Calcutta 1908), pp. 28–9. Impression obtained from Red Fort Museum Delhi.

According to Vogel this tablet was found at Sonepat in Delhi

district.[36] The tablet measures 1' 3" by $10^{3}/_{8}$". Seventeen lines in Sanskrit in Nagari script. The inscription is composed in verses and all are in the Anuṣṭubh Śloka metre. The middle portion of the inscription is totally damaged, and only a few words of each side are readable. Several letters in the beginning and at the end are partially or wholly destroyed. Dated both in words and figures, the Vikrama Samvat year 1347 Phālguna sudi 5 Monday/5 February A.D. 1291.

The inscription begins with an invocation to gods and goddesses, whose names are damaged. It goes on to tell us that Delhi (Ḍhillikā) was under Hariyāṇā and had been ruled by the Tomars, Cauhanas and Śakas, the last clearly refering to the Sulṭāns. In the second line of inscription the name of Śri Jalāldīno occurs as that of the ruler though no title is legible.

This inscription records the construction of a well in a village named *Prastha*. The person who built the well belonged to a Rohītika family.

The name Jalāldīn reminds one of the Nagari legend *Śrī Sultān Jalāludīn* on Jalāluddīn Fīrūz Khalji's coins.[37]

The Rohītakas, now known as Rohatgis, are a sub-caste of the Baniyas. They claim descent from a certain *rājā* Rahat, reputed to be *rājā* Rohitas, the founder of Rohtasgarh (Bihar), the son of Hariścandra. However, it is more probable that the Rohītkas were a local mercantile community, who derived their name from the town of Rohtak in Hariyāṇā.[38]

Text: Plate II

१. स्वस्ति ।। श्री ---------- वंदे ।।१ देशे श्री हरिया-
२. नाख्यै वर्तते ढिल्लिका पुरीं। तोमरै चाहमणे श्रयः (शके)
न्द्र श्री जलाल दीनो
३. महांसागर मेखलां ।।३ ततः प्रभृति भुक्ता ----------
शान्तिमाम
४. 11 अपि च। श्री रोहीतक वंश मौलिंतिलक ----------
५. ----------

[36] It seems that the inscription was actually found at Sonepat as it contains its name in the Sanskritized form i.e. *Suvarana prasastha* (gold plain)– See verse 15.

[37] H. Nelson Wright, op.cit., p. 85, E. Thomas, op.cit., p. 45.

[38] W. Crooke. *The Tribes and Castes of Northern, Western India* (Delhi 1975), IV, p. 242.

६. ख्यः सद ग्रहीः तेन धर्मा हिते ----------

७. रम्ये च मुखार बिंदा ---------- कीर्ति धराम।

८. विविधानि दत्वा ---------- ------- तस्य

९. तस्या पुत्रा ---------- ल्लाभि ----------

१०. ---------- सुशीला

११. ---------- जयदेव

१२. ----------

१३. ----------

१४. ----------

१५. संचित्यं संसार सारतां सुधी (प्रस्थ) मिधे सुर्वर्णा (दि) ग्राम
कूपम कारयश्च ॥१५ मुनि (वेदाग्नि

१६. भू) मि मितेवत्सरे विक्रमार्क्कतः। हरिचन्द्र सुत उत्तम द्विजः ॥१६॥
संवत श्री

१७. श्री विक्रमादित्ये संवत १३४७ फाल्गुन सुदि ५ सोम
दिने ॥१७ । शुभं भवतु ॥

Translation:

1. Ḥail ॥ Śrī
Salute ॥. In the
country named,
2. Hariyāṇā there is Ḍhillikā city. Tomaras Cāhamaṇas and Śaka rulers .....
Śrī Jalāldīno
3. The sea-girt earth ॥ Thence forward
.. in the possession of ..... for peace.
4. ... Now in Rohītaka family ...
5. .....
6. ..... for the welfare of religion.
7. beautiful and .....
for fame
8. ..... after giving different things
9. ... His son ....
10. Suśīlā
11. Jayadeva.
12.
13.

V. 14
V. 15. That wise man, meditating on the worthlessness of wordly existence, caused a well to be made in the village. Prastha (with the word) suvarṇa (prefixed to it).
16. In the year Sage (7) Veda (4) Fire (3) and Earth (1). Counted from the line of Vikramāraka in the month Phālguna —— This eulogy is written by brāhmaṇa Uttama; the son of Hariścandra II 16 II. Śri
17. In the Vikrama Samvat year 1347, Phālguna sudi 5 Monday II 17 II. May be auspicious.

6. Qutb Minar Stone Inscriptions

Reported in *ARIE*, 1958–9, List No. B. 365 *PRASI* (*NC*), 1918–19, p. 7; J.A. Page, *Memoir* No. 22, p. 41; M.C. Joshi, 'Some Nagari Inscriptions on the Qutb Minar', *Medieval India—A Miscellany*, II. p. 3.

Found on the left hand abutment of the door leading to the balcony on the fourth tier of the Qutb Minar. Two lines, written in Nagari script. The characters can be identified as belonging to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

Page considers this inscription to be the work of some anonymous visitors, and maintains that 'Alāuddīn Khaljī did not make any structural contribution to the Qutb Minar. But he adds that there are reasons to regard this, as an authentic record by some architect or craftsman engaged in repairs or additions to the Qutb Minar under the orders of that Sulṭān.[39] Page was apparently not aware of the fact that Amīr Khusrau clearly states that 'Alāuddīn directed the addition of a new casing and cupola to the Minar.'[40]

From this inscription it would then appear that some structural changes in the tower were carried out by 'Alāuddīn in the original fourth storey and its top which perhaps was decked with a crowning cupola or a *chattari*. This was subsequently damaged and was replaced by two further storeys by Fīrūz Tughluq.

The readings of line 1 of the text by Page and Joshi are identical, but Sahni had also read line 2, which is now apparently lost.[41]

[39] J.A. Page, op.cit., p. 19.
[40] Amīr Khusrau, *Khizain-ul-Futūḥ* (tr. M. Habib) (Madras 1931), pp. 14–15.
[41] *PRASI* (*NC*), 1918–19, p. 7.

Text:

१. श्री सुलत्राण अलावदीं वि
२. जय स्तम्भ

Translation:

The victory pillar of the monarch Śrī Alāvadī ('Alāuddīn).

The location of the present inscription together with nos. 8A & B and 13 in the lower part of the fourth tier of the Minar suggests that the circular design of the upper part was already in existence before the time of Fīrūz Tughluq. On this storey there are records from the reigns of three Sulṭāns of Delhi, namely 'Alāuddīn Khaljī, Muḥammad Tughuq and Fīrūz Tughluq and all these are on the lower part of the fourth tier which has a circular form. Up to the eleventh course, the fourth tier is built in red sandstone, and thereafter it has the marble facing contributed by Fīrūz Tughluq.[42] Generally the extant fourth and fifth tiers are considered to be the work of Fīrūz Tughluq, but the records from the times of 'Alāuddīn Khaljī and Muḥammad Tughluq clearly prove that the lower part of the tower up to the height of the balcony entrance was already in existence much before 1369, when Fīrūz Shāh built or partly rebuilt the upper storeys. M.C. Joshi accordingly suggests that either this storey was originally circular in design or that such form was given to it by 'Alāuddīn Khaljī.[43]

7. Aśokan Pillar Inscription

Reported by Cunningham, ASR (1872–3), V, p. 144.

There is a small inscription on the Aśokan pillar which now stands at the Delhi Ridge[44] Two lines are written in Sanskrit in Nagari script, and the date is Samvat Year 1369 on Saturday, the 10th day of Pausa/January A.D. 1312. The inscription is damaged and incomplete.

[42] Y.D. Sharma, *Delhi and its Neighbourhood* (Delhi 1964), p. 47.
[43] *Medieval India—A Miscellany*, II, pp. 4–5.
[44] This obelisk stood in the vicinity of the town of Meerut in Doab and was removed by Sulṭān Firūz Tughluq and erected over a hillock in the Kushk-i Shikar at Delhi (Cf. Afif, *Tārikh-i Firūz Shāhi*, tr.) Elliot and Dowson, *'The History of India as told by its Own Historians. The Muhammadan Period*, III,' p. 352.

Since the date of this inscription is A.D. 1312, it was engraved on the pillar before it was removed from its original site in Meerut district to its present position by Fīrūz Shāh Tughluq. The lines are horizontal, so that the pillar must have been standing erect when this inscription was engraved below Aśoka's own edicts. The names Vithu and Vīrapāla noted here remain unidentified. It is not clear how a 'ruler of Sind' could have his name inscribed on a pillar at a remote spot in Meerut district in 1312, when, in any case the existence of a Hindus ruler of Sind is most unlikely. Presumably Sindādhipati is the title (self-assumed?) of some local magnate in the Doab.

Text:

'Samvat 1369 Pauṣa dasamyām sanau le[.] Vīra Pāla Suta Sindhādhipati Krodavāsa---(?) Vithu Samāyātām.

Translation:

In the Samvat year 1369, on Saturday the 10th (day) of Pauṣa, written (by) Vīrapāla's son—the ruler of Sindh '---' dwelling in breast . . . (?) Vithu came together . . . . (?).

8. A & B. Qutb Minar Inscription

Reported by Page, op. cit., No. 22, p. 42; *ARIE*, 1958–9, List No. C 369. M.C. Joshi, op. cit., p. 4.

There are two epigraphs on the exterior in the eighth course and right abutment of the door leading to the third balcony of Qutb Minar. Written in the local language in Nagari script.[45] The first inscription consists of only one line and the second of two. The former is in bold letters, dated Samvat year 1382 on the 7th day of the month of Bhādon/A.D. 1326. The latter is dated Samvat year 1389, Wednesday, on the eleventh day of the bright half of the month Caitra/Wednesday, 8 April A.D. 1332.

The epigraphs belong to the reign of Muḥammad Tughluq who is named in both of them. The first records the damage caused to the minar by lightning. The second, dated 1332, is incomplete and simply refers, in a complimentary fashion, to the Sulṭān. Inscription B could possibly be a continuation of inscription A. Sahni

[45] According to M.C. Joshi these two inscriptions are amongst the earliest dated Hindi records from Delhi (op.cit., p. 4., fn. 9).

takes *kīritti* to stand for *kīritti-Stambha* (fame-pillar), but it appears from this expression, that the purpose was to record on the minar the establishment of the emperor's fame through some noble deed which probably involved repairing a portion of the Qutb, damaged by lightning during A.D. 1326. In all probability, these repairs were conducted in the then topmost tier or the original fourth storey of the tower.

Text: A

मुहमद सुरत्राण की राजि भादव मासि बीजु पडि
सातमि दिने घटिका २५ जणकमात्राः संवत
१३८२ वर्षे

Translation:

In the reign of Muhammad Sulṭān (Muhamad Surtrāṇa) on the 7th day of the month Bhādava in Samvat year 1382 (A.D. 1326), in the 25th *ghaṛi*, the *Jaṇaka mātrā*[46], lightning struck (the Minar).

Text: B

१. ओ समत् १३८९ वर्षे चैत्र शुदि ११ बुध-
२. दिने श्री सुलत्राणं महंमद शाहि की कीरति

Translation:

'Oṁ, on Wednesday, the 11th day of the bright fortnight of Caitra in the Samvat year 1389 (A.D. 1332) the fame of illustrious Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh (Sultrāṇa Mahamad Śāhi).

9. Qutb Minar Inscription

Reported by M.C. Joshi, op. cit., II, p. 4.

This inscription, not reported by Daya Ram Sahni in *PRASI* (*NC*), is damaged. It is in two parts on the fifth course (above the floor of the balcony) in the fourth tier of the Qutb. Its Nagari characters belong to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

46 I am unable to offer an explanation for this term, which may have some astronomical or astrological significance.

The inscription records the names of the masons, Lashman and Harimani Gaveri, engaged in repair work on the minar. I take *sūtra*, the initial word, to be the abbreviated form of *sūtradhāra*, mason.

Text as read by Joshi, in his transliteration.

Text: Sūtra Laṣamana.
Sahadhaira suta Harimani Gaveri.

Translation:

'Mason Laṣamana (and) Harimani Gaveri, son of Sahadhaira.'

10. Naraina Stone Inscription

Reported in *Bhandarkar List*, No. 682; Edited by Rajendralal Mitra, *Proceedings of ASB* (May 1873), pp. 102–05; *PRASI* (*NC*), 1907–08, p. 10, No. 9. See also *Catalogue of the Delhi Museum of Archaeology* (1908), pp. 29–33; and Mahdi Husain, *Rise and Fall of Muhamad Bin Tughluq* , pp. 244–5. Preserved at Delhi Fort Museum, Delhi.

The versified inscription was found at the village of Naraina, seven miles south-west of Delhi. The inscription shows that when the stone was originally set up, Naraina was known as Nāḍāyaṇa and Delhi as Dhillī. The inscription is written in Sanskrit in Nagari script. The surface of the stone has deteriorated considerably, and several of the letters are partially or wholly destroyed. The upper right corner is broken, so that the first four lines are completely lost. It is dated both in words and figures: the Samvat year 1384, the 3rd day of the dark fortnight of Bhādrapada, Thursday/6 August A.D. 1327.

In the first two stanzas, Gaṇeśa and the demon–slaying goddess Caṇḍikā are invoked. The next three stanzas eulogize Delhi (styled Ḍhillī) in the inscription, this being the earliest known form of its present name (ins. no. 4), followed by a panegyric on the contemporary Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughluq (3rd and 5th stanzas).

The purpose of the inscription is to record the construction of a well, on the northern side of the village Nāḍāyaṇa said to be situated in the portion (*bhāga*) of (the division) Indraprastha.[47] Indra-

[47] Indrapat or the Mahabharata's Indraprastha is applied to the site of the fort of Purana Kila. The site is located on the bank of Yamuna between Firūz Shāh Kotla and Humāyūn's tomb, two miles south of modern Delhi. (N.L. Dey. op. cit., pp. 77, 230).

prastha or Indpat, to give the form in which it comes to us from the fourteenth century Persian texts[48] was the headquarter of a *parganā* or *pratigaṇa* as shown by the next inscription (no. 11). It was much more than a village, since Afif too styles it a *qasba* (township).[49]

The inscription says that Śridhara who built the well to perpetuate the memory of his ancestors, belonged to a merchant family of status and that his ancestors, who had established themselves at Nāḍāyaṇa, belonged to the Rohitaka sub-caste.[50]

The text given here is according to Rajendra Lal Mitra's reading. It has however been checked against the reproduction of the inscription and this has resulted in the correction of some misprints.

Text: Plate III.

(ओं स्वस्ति)

(स्मृतः प्रणतदेहिनां) निखिल विघ्न (विध्वंसकृ)
न्नमज्जनसमीहितं वितरतीह यः पूजितः
(स धारयति विघ्नपो रदनमे) कमत्युन्नतं
प्रभेत्तुमिव नाकिनां स्फटिकदं (ड) मुग्रं द्विषः ॥१॥ [Pṛthvī]

सुरेन्द्ररिपुमर्दनी महिष घा (टिका) संस्थिता
हरीशकमलोद्भवैरखिलसिद्धिहेतोः स्तुता।
भवेत्स्वकुलदेवता भवदघौघ विच्छित्तये,
द्रु (तं ज) नफल प्रदा भुवनधारिणी चंडिका ॥२॥ [Pṛthvī]

हरियानक संज्ञोस्ति देशः पुण्यतमो महान्
कृष्णः सपा (र्थो) व्यचरच्छत्र पापौघशांतये ॥३॥ [Anuṣṭubh]

तस्मिन्नियं निखिलरत्नचयोपगूढ़ा
वेदस्वनैः श्रुतिविदां हृतपाप पुं (जा)।
ढिल्ली पुरी सुरनदीव विभाति रम्या
रम्यांगना चरणनूपुर (हंस) शब्दैः ॥४॥ [Upajāti]

तत्रासीन्महमूदसाहिरखिलक्षोणीश चूडामणि-
र्व्विख्यातो निज बाहुवीर्यदलितारातिः शकेंद्रो बली।
त्रसाद्भूश्चलतीह यस्य- (मृगयाक्री) डावनीं गच्छतः
(सिं) धुः शुष्यति कंपमाशु (हि) दिशो (यांत्य) द्रयोपि
द्विषः ॥५॥ [Śārdūlavikrīḍitā]

48 Afif, *Tārīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhi* (text), pp. 134–5.
49 Ibid.
50 For Rohitaka, see Ins. no. 5 Supra.

वंश वर्णनं।
आसीद्वणि (ग्बंधुपरीवृतः) प्राग्नाडायण[51] ग्रामकृताधिवासः।
गोविंददेवो बहु पुण्यकर्म्मदक्षोत्र रोहीतकवंशकेतुः ।।६।। [Iṇdravajrā]

(तस्माद्वै गु)णवान् जज्ञे रत्नो रत्नमिवांबुधेः ।।
येनोढा धर्म्मिणा पत्नी गगनाश्रीः पतिव्रता ।।७।। [Anuṣṭubh]

तस्याम जायं (त सु) ताः प्रसिद्धाश्चत्वार एते किल रत्न साधोः
गंगाधरो (माध) व लक्ष्मणाख्यावन्यो (?) (न्यस्तु) तु
दामोदर नामधेयः ।।८।। [Indravajrā]

(ल) घुर्द्दामोदरस्तेषां विरदां प्राप्य सुप्रियां।
श्रीधीरदेव (कृष्णादींस्तनयाल्लब्धवान् नव) ।।९।। [Anuṣṭubh]

तेषा (मभूत्स) र्व्वकला (स्व) भिज्ञो
वाणिज्य कर्म्मक्रय विक्रयज्ञः।
गोभूमिहे (मांबरदान शील) :
श्रीधीर देवो मति मान् गुणज्ञः ।।१०।। [Indravajrā]

तेनोद्वाह्य शुभां पत्नीं धन्यां धानीतिविश्रुतां
द्वावंगजौ (रीसडाख्यसुदेवौ) जनिता वुमौ ।।११।। [Anuṣṭubh]

राजश्रियां (नाम) पत्न्यां रीसडः सत्सुता विमौ
लेभे दुर्ल्लभ देवाख्यं (श्रीवरं च ततः परं) ।।१२।। [Anuṣṭubh]

श्री श्रीवरः श्रीवरपाद (पद्मसेवार) संज्ञो मतिमान् विधिज्ञः
सद्वंशं जेऽसौ लभते ह कांते कल्लयाभि – (धानामथगंगदि) श्री ।।१३।।
[Iṇdravajrā]

श्री श्रीवरस्येह कलासु दक्षाः पुत्रास्त्रयोमी गुणिनो बभूवुः
पृथ्वीधरो ज्येष्ठ (पतिव्रतायां जा) तो (परौ श्रीधर)
(सौहलणाख्यौ) ।।१४।। [Indravajrā]

इन्द्राप्रस्थाद्वारूणे दिग्विभागे ग्रामः
ख्यातोप्यस्ति नाडायणाख्यः
ग्रामादस्माद्दिश्युदीच्यां पितृणां।
तृप्त्यै कूपः कारितः श्रीधरेण ।।१५।। [Śāliṇī]

[51] Vogel's reading प्राडः नाडायण

किमु सुरसरिदंभः शीतलं मिष्टमिष्टं
किमिह तदमरैर्व्वा क्षिप्तमत्रामृतं यत्
इति पथिक समूहस्तस्य कूपस्य पीत्वा
मधुरमुदकमच्छं प्रस्तुवन्याति गेहं ॥१६॥ — कृति र्मदनस्य । [mālanī]
कृतिमर्दनदेवस्य तुर्य्याष्टाग्निनिशाकरे
विक्रमब्देऽसितेभाद्रे तृतीया गुरोदिने ॥१७॥[52] [Anuṣṭubh]

संवत १३४८ भाद्र वदि ३ गुरु दिने। शुभं भवतु

Translation:[53]

1. Oṃ! Prosperity! He, (Gaṇeśa) who is known as destroyer of all obstacles of those who bow before him, who, when worshipped, fulfils the desires of the supplicants, the protector from obstacles — bears one prominent tooth like a crystal staff the destruction of the enemies of the gods.
2. Caṇḍikā, who suppresses the enemies of the lord of the gods; who sits on the shoulder of the buffalo, giant, who is praised by Hari, Īśa and the lotus-born, for success of every kind; who quickly bestows rewards on mankind; who upholds the universe, who is my family deity — may she quickly prove destructive to the sins of this world.
3. There is a great and virtuous province named Hariyānā, where Kṛṣṇa along with Pārtha, wandered for the suppression of sin.
4. Therein lies this town of Ḍhillī covered with innumerable jewels, whence sin is expelled through the chanting of the Vedas by those who know the sacred lore and which appears lovely with the tinkling of anklets of beautiful damsels even as the heavenly river with the noise of geese.
5. There is the famous king Mahammud Sāhī, the crest jewel of all the rulers of the earth, who by his personal bravery has crushed (his) enemies, and is the powerful Śaka lord. When he goes out to the site of his hunting excursion the earth moves as it were out of fear, the river dries up and the mountains as well as the enemies and directions shudder instantly.

[52] The seventeenth stanza is omitted by Vogel.
[53] R.L. Mitra's translation has been followed with a few changes.

The description of the lineage

6. There was formerly a merchant named Govindadeva who made his abode in the Nāḍāyaṇa village and lived amidst friends and family. He was the glory of the Rohītaka family and was accomplished in various pious deeds.

7. To him was born a meritorious son, Ratna by name, like a jewel born from the ocean. This virtuous one took as wife the faithful Gaṅgaśrī.

8. To this pious Ratna were born four famous sons Gaṅgādhara, Mādhava, Lakṣamaṇa and Dāmodara.

9. Dāmodara, the youngest among these, having married his beloved Viradā, had nine sons—Śrī Dhīradeva, Kṛṣṇa and others.

10. Among them there was one Śrī Dhīradeva who was accomplished in every art and well-versed in mercantile pursuits like buying and selling. He was fond of giving in charity, cows, land, gold and clothes. He was an appreciator of merits.

11. He married an auspicious and fortunate wife known as Dhānī. To her were born these two sons, Rīsaḍa and Sudeva.

12. From his wife Rājaśrī, Rīsaḍa had two good sons—Dullrabhadeva and Śrīvara.

13. Śrī Śrīvara, who delighted in serving the lotus-like feet of Viṣṇu and who was wise and well-versed in decorum, obtained two beautiful and high-born wives called Kallyā and Gangādiśrī.

14. To Śrīvara were born three talented sons who were skilful in arts. One was Pṛthvīdhara—who was born of the elder and devoted wife—and the other two were Srīdhara and Solhaṇa by name.

15. In the western direction of Indraprastha there is a village called Nāḍāyaṇa. To the north of this village, Śrīdhara had a well dug for the propitiation of his ancestors.

16. Is this the cool, pleasant and sweet water of the celestial river or is it nectar scattered here by the gods? Thus the wayfarers remark while going home after drinking the sweet and transparent water of this well.

Written by Madana, Samvat 1384 on the 3rd of the wane in the month of Bhādra, Thursday. May this be auspicious.

11. Sarban Stone Inscription

First noticed by J.G. Delmerick in report sent to the Asiatic Society. Reported in *Bhandarkar List*, No. 683; *PRASI (NC)* 1907–8, p. 10, no. 10. Edited by Rajendra Lal Mitra, *Proceedings of Asiatic Society of Bengal* (May 1873) pp. 102–5. See also *EI*, I (January 1892), pp. 93–5; Mahdi Husain, op. cit., pp. 246–7, see also *Catalogue of Delhi Museum of Archeology* (*1908*), pp. 34–7. Preserved at the Delhi Fort Museum, Delhi.

This inscription was found in the village of Sarban, which was then five miles south of Delhi, but is now in the middle of New Delhi in the area of Raisina Road.[54] It is incised on a rectangular slab of black stone measuring 17″ × 11″ consisting of seventeen lines written in Sanskrit in Nagari script. It is dated both in words and figures; Samvat year 1384, the month Phālguna, the fifth day, bright fortnight, Tuesday/16 February A.D. 1328.

The inscription contains a eulogy of the ancestors of two merchants Khetala and Paitala who built a well in the village of 'Sarvala', which is obviously the earlier form of the village-name Sarban.[55]

The first two stanzas are benedictory, in which the blessings of Gaṇeśa and Satyala (Śiva) are invoked. In the next four stanzas the past of Ḍhillī (Delhi) is recalled from its foundation right down to the time when the inscription was written.

[54] According to Vogel, 'The Village of Sarban also called Saravala lay in the area of Raisina, now called New Delhi', (*PRASI (NC)* 1907–8, pp. 10–11, no. 10).

[55] Unexpected place-name evidence like this helps to warn us of the pit-falls of simple place-name interpretations. Had not the earlier form of Sarvala been established from this inscription, one might have thought that Sarban was originally situated in a forest (Skt. *vana*, thence Hindi *van*, thence *ban*).

The inscription tells us that the city was founded by the Tomaras or Tomar Rajputs who were succeeded by Cāhamanās or Cauhāns. The latter were conquered by 'Sahāvadina' (Shahābuddīn Muḥammad of Ghor). At the time of the inscription, Delhi was ruled by the Turuṣka ruler Mahammad Sāhi (Muḥammad Tughluq). The last stanza records a wish for the long existence of the well and the prosperity of its founders.

The inscription tells us that Agrotaka was the dwelling place of the family of merchants to which the well-builders belonged. 'Agrotaka may be Agroha, a well-known place in Hariyānā.[56] The origin of the Agrawals, a sub-caste of the Baniyas, has been traced to Agroha. Situated in the Hissar district. it was once the capital of a Vaiśya prince called Agarsen. The Agrawalas, named after either Agarsen or Agroha, are said to have subsequently spread all over India.[57]

Ibbetson says that within the old British Punjab, the territorial distribution of this group of Baniyas is mostly confined to the eastern and south-eastern divisions of Delhi, Hissar and Ambala and to the Central Native States along with the north of the eastern plains and extending into the hill states.[58]

For the use of the term *pratigaṇa* (*pargana*) in this inscription, see under no. II, 11.

Mahdi Husain argues that the two Sanskrit inscriptions (nos. I, 10, 11) imply that the common people were not affected by Muḥammad Tughluq's transfer of capital from Delhi to Daulatabad during these years.[59] Unless there is some mistake in ascribing the transfer of the capital to these years,[60] one may well be obliged to conclude that ordinary merchants and other people were not required to leave the capital for Daulatabad in as rigorous manner as is suggested by all our principal literary authorities, Ibn Battutah, Isāmi and Baranī.

[56] Agroha lies about 12 miles to the north-west of Hissar on the Delhi-Sirsa road. (Cf. P.J. Fagan, *Punjab District Gazetteers, Hissar district and Laharu state*, II A, p. 324).

[57] Elliot and John Beams, *Memoirs of North-Western Provinces in India* (London 1867), I, pp. 324–7.

[58] Denzi Ibbetson, *Punjab-Caste* (Lahore 1916), pp. 237–43.

[59] Mahdi Husain, *Rise and Fall of Muhammad Bin Tughluq* (Delhi 1972), pp. 110–11.

[60] Iswari Prasad too infers the transfer of the capital in 726–72 A.H./A.D. 1326–7. *A History of the Qarauna Turks in India* (Allahabad 1974) I, pp. 82–3.

Text (as read by R.L. Mitra)
Plate: IV.

औं स्वस्ति ॥

सर्व्वाभीष्टं फलं यस्य पदाराधनतत्पराः ।
लभंते मनुजास्तस्मै गणाधिपतये नमः ॥१॥ [Anuṣṭubh]

सत्यलो नाम वः पातु सांबवत्यांबया सह ।
प्रसादाद्यस्य देवस्य भक्ताः स्युः सौख्यभाजनं ॥२॥ [Sragivṇī]

देशोस्ति
हरियानाख्यः पृथिव्यां स्वर्ग्गसंन्निभः ।
ढिल्लिकाख्या पुरी तत्र तोमरैरस्ति निर्मिता ॥३॥ [Anuṣṭubh]

तोमरानंतरं यस्यां राज्यं निहतकंटकं
चाहमना नृपाश्चक्रुः प्रजापालनतत्पराः ॥४॥ [Anuṣṭubh]

अथ प्रतापदहनदग्धारि कुल काननः ।
म्लेच्छः सहावदीनस्तां बलेन जगृहे पुरीं ॥५॥ [Anuṣṭubh]

ततः प्रभृति भुक्ता सा तुरष्कैर्यावदद्य पूः ।
श्री महंमदशाहिस्तां पाति संप्रति भूपतिः ॥६॥ [Anuṣṭubh]

अपि च ॥
तस्यां पुर्यस्ति वणिजामग्रोतक निवासिनां ।
वंशः श्रीसाचदेवाख्यः साधुस्तत्रोदपद्यत ॥७॥ [Anuṣṭubh]

लक्ष्मीधरस्तत्तनयो. बभूव, लक्ष्मीधरां घ्रिद्वय पद्मभृंगः ।
देवद्विजाराधननिष्ठ चित्तः समस्त भूतावन लब्धकीर्त्तिः ॥८॥ [Indravajrā]

लक्ष्मीधरस्य तनयौ कलिकाल बाह्या वास्तामुभौ
महिमवारिनिधां सुरूपौ ।

माहानिधौ निपुणबुद्धिरभूत्तदाघौ घीकाख्य उत्तमयशा
अनुजस्तु तस्य ॥९॥ [Vasantatilakā]

माहाख्यस्याभवत्पुत्रो मेल्हानामा मनोहरः ।
देव द्विज गुरूणां यः सदाराधनतत्परः ॥१०॥ [Anuṣṭubh]

श्रीधरस्यात्मजां वीरोनाम्नीं भर्त्तृ परायणां ।
घीका विवाहयामास तस्यामास्तामुभौ सुतौ ॥११॥ [Anuṣṭubh]

ज्येष्ठस्तयोः खेतलनामधेयः
साधुत्वपाथोधिरनंतशीलः ।
पैतूकनामा च लघु, समस्त गुरु द्विजाराधन शील चित्तः ॥१२॥ [Upajāti]

अथै तयोः खेतलपैतलाख्यसाध्वोः ।
सदा कीर्त्तन कर्म बुद्धयोः
इयं शुभासारवलाभिधान, ग्रामान्तभूरध्यवसतस्म चित्तः ।।१३।। [Upajāti]

पितृणामक्षयस्वर्ग्ग प्राप्तौ संतानवृद्धये ।
षे (खे) तलपैत (ल) श्चैन (नं) कारयामासतुः प्रहिं ।।१४।। [Anuṣṭubh]

वेदवस्वग्नि चंद्राकसंख्येबदे विक्रमार्क्कतः
पंचम्यां फाल्गुन सिते लिखितं भौमवासरे ।।१५।। [Anuṣṭubh]

इन्द्रप्रस्थ प्रतिगणे ग्रामे साखलेत्र तु ।
चिरं तिष्ठतु कूपोयं कारकश्च सबांधवः ।।१६।। [Anuṣṭūbh]

संवत् १३८४ फाल्गुन सुदि ५ भौम दिने ।।

Translation: [61].

1. Hail, Salutations be unto the Lord of Gaṇas, through constant devotion at whose feet men obtain the fruit of all their desires.

2. Let that (god) Satyala (Śiva) together with the mother goddess Ambāvatī protect you by the grace of which the god devotees enjoy ease and happiness.

3. There is a region called Hariyānā—like heaven on earth. There lies the city of Ḍhillī built by the Tomaras.

4. Therein, subsequent to the Tomaras, the Cāhaman kings, intent on protecting their subjects, established a kingdom, in which all enemies were struck down.

5. Thereupon the *maleccha* Sāhāvadīna, having burnt down the forest of hostile tribes by the fire of his valour, seized that city by force.

6. Thenceforth that city has been in the possession of the Turuṣakas to this day. At present prince Śrī Mahammad Sāhī rules over it.

[61] R.L. Mitra's translation has been followed with minor changes.

7. Now, in that city there is a family of merchants who (originally) dwelt in Agrotaka. Into this family was born the virtuous Śrī Sacadeva.

8. His son was Lakṣmīdhara, the bee of the lotus-like pair of Viṣṇu's (Lakṣmidhara's) feet, his mind was ever bent on the propitiation of the gods and Brāhmans, and he obtained fame by his kindness to all beings.

9. Lakṣmīdhara had two sons, who were strangers to the age of sin; both of them oceans of greatness, and of goodly form. The first of them was Māhā by name, and was of a subtle mind; and his younger brother named Ghīkā, enjoyed highest renown.

10. Māhā had a charming son, named Melhā, who was ever bent on propitiating the gods, Brāhmaṇs and *Gurus*.

11. Ghīkā married Śrīdhara's daughter, Vīro by name, (?) devoted to her husband, by whom he had two sons.

12. The elder of them, Khetala by name, an ocean of goodness, and of boundless piety; and the younger named Paituka, whose mind was devoted to the propitiation of all *Gurus* and Brāhmaṇs.

13. Now those two virtuous men, Khetala and Paitala, whose minds were occupied with deeds of renown, possessed a fair piece of ground in the vicinity of the village Saravala.

14. Khetala and Paitala, with the view of their deceased ancestors attaining to imperishable Heaven and for the continuation of their race, caused this well to be made.

15. Written in the year numbering 1384 counted from the time of *Vikramārka*, on Tuesday, the 5th of the bright half of Phālguna.

16. In this village of Saravala in the *pratigaṇa* of Indraprastha, may this well and its builder with his family live for a long time.

Samvat 1384 bright Phālguna 5, Tuesday.

12. Aśokan Pillar Inscription

Reported by Cunningham *ASR*, V (1872–3), p. 144. Plate XLI No. L.

In addition to Ins. no. 7, there is a small inscription on the Aśokan pillar now standing at the ridge of Delhi. This too was inscribed before its removal from Mirat (Meerut). The inscription consists of two lines written in local dialect in Nagari script, and is dated Samvat year 1416, the 15th day of the waning moon of the month Jyeṣtha/16 March A.D. 1359.

The inscription refers only to the date and the writer's name who was a goldsmith. The text is incomplete. It has been re-deciphered from the plate in Cunningham, who in his transliteration has omitted three words *jyeṣhta* (line 1), *iv* and *sāhā* (line 2).

Text:

१. संवत् १४१६ ---------- ज्येष्ठा सुदि १५ हि कलावात्।
२. इव साह सुत मल साहा सुनारं लिषितं।

Translation:

'In the Samvat year 1416, on the 15th day of the month Jyeṣtha of the waning moon (?). Written by---Sāha's son. Mala Sāhā, the goldsmith.'

13. Qutb Minar Inscription

Reported by Page, *Memoir*, No. 22, p. 42; *PRASI* (NC), 1918–19, p. 10; *ARIE*, 1958–9, No. C 367.

This inscription was found on a yellowish stone of the eighth course of the third balcony of the Qutb. There are two lines written in a local dialect in the Nagari script. A few words of the second line are entirely damaged. Dated the Samvat year 1425, Thursday, 15th day of the dark fortnight of Phālgunā/8 February A.D. 1369, the inscription records that the tower was damaged by lightning and was then repaired.[62]

[62] A Persian inscription on the doorway of the fifth storey also tells us that the Qutb Minar was damaged by lightning in 770/1368–9 and that this portion of the tower was repaired during the reign of Fīrūz Shāh Tughluq. Page, *Memoir*, No. 22, p. 34.

The damage caused by a stroke of lightning in 1368–9 is mentioned by Fīrūz Shāh himself in the *Futūḥāt-i Fīruz Shāhī*: 'The minar built by Sulṭān Mu'izzuddīn Sām, which had fallen on account of a stroke of lightning was repaired and improved and raised higher than it had been before.'[63] The inscription is further significant in showing that the masons employed continued to be Hindus.

Text:

१. समत् १४२५ वर्षे फाल्गुण वदि १५ गुरुदिने फेरोजशाहि
के राजि बीजु पडी। वाहुडि उसरायो।
२. सूत्र नाना साल्हा लोला लषमण ----------
समत् १४२५ द ----------।

Translation:

On Thursday, the 15th day of the dark fortnight of Phālguna in the Samvat year 1425, lightning fell during the reign of Pheroj Shāhī. The Vāhudi[64](?) was repaired in the year Samvat 1425. The masons were Nānā, Sālhā, Lolā and Laṣhmaṇa.

14. Qutb Minar Inscription

Reported by Cunningham, *ASR*, I, pp. 201–2; Sahni, *PRASI (NC)*, 1918–19, p. 10; Page, *Memoir*, No. 22, p. 43; *ARIE*, 1958–9 List No. C, 370; Edited by M.C. Joshi, op. cit. II, p. 6.

The present inscription was noticed in 1862–3 by Cunningham. He found it on the south jamb of the doorway on the fourth storey cut partly on white marble and partly on red sandstone. Sahni re-deciphered the text in 1918–19. Page treats the inscription as two separate records, the first comprising lines 1–8 and the second, lines 9–13. However there does not seem to be any justification for this division. Joshi has also treated it as a single record but he notes that the text of four lines (8 to 11) has now totally disappeared. We give the text as reproduced by Page and Joshi. It is dated Samvat 1426, the fifth day of the bright fortnight of Phālguna, / Friday 1 February A.D. 1369.

[63] *Futūḥāt-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, tr, Sh. Abdur Rashid and M.A. Makhdoomi, p. 117.
[64] The word *Vāhudi* is not clear.

The inscription records the details of the restoration work carried out during the reign of Fīrūz Tughluq with the names of workers associated with the repairs.

The lines which Joshi says have now disappeared, contained some interesting measurements. Cunningham read them as follows: *gaj* 22, *gaj* 3, *gaj* 26, *gaj* 131, *gaj* 134, (*ASR*, I, p. 201). When Sahni read the text, the word '*gaj* 3' had apparently disappeared, and he read the initial '*gaj* 22' of Cunningham as '*gaj* 92'. Now it is, of course, impossible to say whose reading is correct, especially since the face of the inscription might have been damaged between the times of the two readings. But in that case, Cunningham's reading should probably receive precedence.

The measurements which presumably relate to the dimensions of the Minar are themselves hard to understand. The *gaj* is, of course, the Persian *gaz* or yard. On the basis of his reading, Cunningham believed that the numbers 22 + 26 represented the heights of the two upper storeys, measured by Blunt in 1794 as 62 feet 6 inches. This would give the *gaj* or *gaz* a value of 16.094 inches which Cunningham had obtained by measuring Fīrūz Shāh's *lāṭ* (*ASR*, I, p. 201, fn.) If this were true, 131 and 134 *gaj* (equal respectively to 175.8 ft 10 inches and 171.7 ft 4 inches) could represent two measurements of the heights of the remaining storey which by Blunt's measurrments amounted to 180 feet. Sahni's readings would not, however, be amenable to the interpretation advanced by Cunningham, because the length '*gaj* 92' cannot correspond to the height of any storey.

Attention may be drawn to the fact that Hindu architects here attribute the successful completion of their profession to their own supreme deity i.e. *Viśvakarma* the Divine Architect. The reference to a Hindu deity in what is technically part of a mosque has an irony of its own. Yet, as Professor Mujeeb rightly remarks, the Qutb Minar is a product of the technical and aesthetic co-operation of the Muslim architects and Hindu master-masons.[65]

Text:

१. औं स्वस्ति श्री सुरत्राण फेरोजशा-
२. हि विजय राजे (राज्ये) सम्वत् १४२६ वरि-
३. षे (वर्षे) फाल्गुण सुदि ५ शुक्र दिने मु-

[65] M. Mujeeb, 'The Qutb Complex as a Social Document', *Islamic Influence on Indian Society*, pp. 114–27.

४. नारो जीर्णे धा (द्धा) र कृत श्री विश्व-
५. कर्म प्रा (प्र) सादे रचितः सूत्र धारि
६. चाहड देवपाल सुत दो (दौ) हित्र ----------
७. सूत्र पातः प्रतिष्ठा निपाति
८. त उदै गज ९२ (गज २२)
९. गज २६ (गज ३)
१०. उदै गज १३१
११. मुदितं गज १३४ शिल्पी
१२. सूत्र नाना साल्हा दारूक-
१३. र्म्म धरमुवाननि ग ----------

Translation:

Oṁ! Hail, during the victorious reign of the illustrious Suratarāṇa Pherojśāhi in the Samvat year 1426, the fifth day of the bright half of Phālguṇa on Friday, the minar was renovated. The work was completed by the grace of Śrī Viśvakarma.[66] The architect was Cāhaḍa,[67] son of Devapāla and the maternal grandson of . . . . . The measuring cord was dropped[68] . . . Height (*udai*) *gaj* 92, *gaj* 22, *gaj* 3, *gaj* 26, height (udai)-*gaj* 131, *gaj* 134. The craftsmen were the architects Nānā and Sālhā; the carpenter Dharmuvānani.

15. Jain Temple Inscription

Published by Puran Chand Nahar, *Jain Inscriptions* (Calcutta 1927), II, p. 225.

This inscription was found on the pedestal of a metal sculpture in Cīrkhāne Kā Mandir at Delhi. Five lines in Sanskrit in Nagari

[66] Sahni has translated these lines as follows: The restoration of Minar was carried out in the palace of temple of Viśvakarma. This cannot be accepted as the correct word is *prasāda* (favour, grace), not *prāsāda* (temple), as read by Sahni.

[67] M.C. Joshi (p. 6, fn. 13) says that '*Cāhada-devapāla Suta dohitra* does not make very clear sense for it means that Cāhaḍa, maternal grandson of the son of Devapāla; was the architect, but in the fourteenth century it was customary to give the father's name instead of that of the maternal great grandfather. It can, therefore, be suggested that Cāhada was the son of Devapāla, and due to the scribe's oversight the name of the maternal grandfather has been omitted.' (p. 6, fn. 13).

[68] Page translates the lines 7 and 8. 'the measuring cord was drawn and foundation laid. Height, 92 yards (p.43).But there is no reference to the laying of the foundation in the text.

script. It is dated Samvat year 1461 Māgh Sudi 10/Sunday, 10 January A.D. 1404.

Text:

"संवत् १४६१ वर्षे माघ सुदि १० नाहर वंशे
सा षेता पु० सा० तोला भार्या तिहुण श्री पु०
हेमा धर्म्मायां पितृव्य श्रेयसे श्री शान्ति बिंब
कारितं प्रति, श्रीधर्म्म घोष गच्छे श्री मलय चन्द्र
सुरिभि गरि ---------- ग

Translation:

In the Samvat year 1461 Māgh Sudi 10, in the Nāhar family Sāhu Khetā, respected Sāhu Tolā and his wife Tihuṇ (and) respected Śrī Hema installed the image of Śrī Śānti Nāth for the welfare of their ancestors and religion. Śri Malaya Cand Surī (belongs) to Dharmaghoṣa Gachcha.

16. Qutb Minar Inscription

Published by Page, *Memoir*, No.22, p.40; *ARIE*, 1958–9. No.C 352.

This was found on the right hand abutment of a door near the iron fixing, on the first balcony of the Qutb. It consists of three lines written in Nagari script, dated Samvat year 1560, on the second day of bright fortnight of Caitra/30 March A.D. 1503. The inscription was engraved by Viṣṇu kaṅtha. Its purpose has not been recorded, but it may have been connected with repairs to the Qutb. (See Ins. no. I. 17).

Text:

समत् १५६० वरषे (र्षे)
चैत्र सुदि २ लीषी
तं विसनु (कंठे) न

Translation:

Written by Viṣṇu Kaṅtha on the second day of bright fortnight of Caitra in Samvat year 1560.

17. Qutb Minar Inscription

Published by Page, *Memoir*, No. 22, p. 43; *ARIE*, 1958–9, No. C 369.

This inscription is carved on the marble soffit of the arch over the doorway which leads to the fourth balcony of the Qutb. It consists of three lines written in Nagari script. The last line is totally damaged. It is dated Samvat year 1560, the eighth day of the bright half of the month Bhādon/, Wednesday, 1 August A.D. 1503.

The Samvat year 1560 mentioned in this inscription as well as in the previous record, corresponds to the year (1503) when repairs were carried out in the Qutb, according to the inscriptions of Sikandar Lodī's time.[69] It is, therefore, quite probable that both inscriptions (nos. 16 and 17) were engraved during the progress, or on the completion of the repairs. Both were obviously left by the Hindu masons or others engaged in the work.

Text:

१. संवत् १५६०

२. (भाद्र) सुदि ८, १५६०

३. ---------- केसा ----------

Translation:

On the 8th day of the bright half of Bhādra in the Samvat year 1560 [the rest unintelligible].

18. Mubarakpur Kotla Inscription

Reported in *ARIE*, 1956–7, No. B 109; Y.K. Bukhari in *Epigraphia Indica*, Arabic and Persian Supplement, 1959–60 (Delhi 1962), p. 8, pl. II (b); J.F. Blakiston, *Catalogue of the Delhi Museum of Archaeology* (Calcutta 1926), p. 5. No. B 14; Preserved at Archaeological Museum, Red Fort, Delhi, Exhibit No. 40/1009. Translation is given here for the first time.

This is a Persian-Sanskrit bilingual inscription carved on a slab of black marble (2′ by 1′.6″) which is said to have been discovered at Mubarakpur Kotla in Delhi. To the left of the Persian inscription is a Sanskrit record comprising fifteen lines, written in Nagari

[69] Cf. Page, *Memoir*, No. 22, p. 32.

script. As regards the orthography, 'the cerebral sibiliant *ṣ* is frequently used for aspirate guttural *kha* i.e. *seṣa* in 6 and 7; and *ṣāta* in 8; the dental sibiliant *s* is denoted by palatal sibilant *ś*'. It is dated Samvat year 1573 Caitra badi 7 Saturday, Hijri San 923, 20 Saphara / 14 March, A.D. 1517.

This inscription names some important personages of the time, Shaikh Sikandar Sarātī (or Serātī) and his wife Bībī Murād Khātūn, the daughter of Dilāwar Khān Sarvānī and 'Āyisha, daughter of Bahlol Lodī. This inscription is the only record preserving the name of this princess, 'Āyisha.[70] The Sanskrit inscription does not indicate any association between the princess and the couple who built the well; but the Persian inscription makes her 'the disciple of the said Shaikh Sikandar', if, that is, Yazdani's reading is correct. The Sanskrit inscription refers to her as the sister of Śrī Sikandar, the reigning Lodi ruler.[71] If 'Āyisha was really a *murīd* of Shaikh Sikandar, the latter must have been a religious or sufic personage.

Shaikh Sikandar's father-in-law, Dilāwar Khān Sarvānī, was a noble man during the reign of Bhalol Lodī. His son, Ahmad Khān, was honoured by Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī with the title of Ā'zam Humāyūn and was posted at Kara and Manikpur as governor (*muqta*) with a command of over 45,000 *sawārs*.[72]

The accompanying Persian inscription is almost identical, except that the date is according to the Hijri. calendar (20 Safar 923 = 14 March A.D. 1517). The Persian inscription reads as follows (translation):

The foundation of this structure of a well (*'imārat-i chāh*) was laid in the prosperous reign of the victorious king . . . . soldier in the Path of God, Sikandar Shāh, son of Bahlol Shāh, the Sulṭān, let God make his reign prosperous! This . . . (has been built by) Shaikh Sikandar, son of Shaikh Bāyazīd, son of Shaikh Yaḥyā Sarātī (Shiarānī ?), and Bibi Murād Khātūn, daughter of Dilāwar Khān Sarwānī, wife of the said Shaikh (Sikandar), at the desire - - - of Bībī

[70] Another reference to another of Bahalol Lodī's daughters named Subhan, is noted in an inscription at Sarhind in East Punjab. See C.J. Rodger's, *Revised List of Objects of Archaeological Interest in the Punjab* (Lahore 1891), p. 55.

[71] 'At the instance and under the advice of Bībī 'Āyisha daughter of Sulṭān Bahlul who is the disciple of the said Shaikh Sikandar' (*Epigraphia Indica, Arabic and Persian Supplement* 1959–60, p. 8, lines 6–7).

[72] Ni'matullah, *Tārīkh-i Khān-i Jahāni*, edited by Imad-al din, Dacca, II, p. 621; I.H. Siddiqui, 'The Composition of the Nobility under the Lodi Sultans, *Medieval India—A Miscellany* (Aligarh 1977), IV, pp. 32–3, Appendices, A & B.

'Āyisha, daughter of Sulṭān Bahlol, the disciple of Shaikh Sikandar, 20 Safar 923.

The readings of the Muslim names in the Sanskrit inscription are of some interest. The following list gives the variants of the names in the two versions.

	Sanskrit	*Persian*
L.6	Shaikh Ahiyā	Shaikh Yahyā
	Bājīd	Bāyazīd
L.7	Serātī *gotra*	Shairānī/Sarātī
L.8	Murādi Khatu	Murādi Khātūn
L.8	Dilāwar Khāt	Dilāwar *Khān*
L.9	Sarvāṇī	Sarwānī
L.10	Bībī Śrī Āsā	Bībī 'Āyishā

Text: (*Plate* V).

१. Symbol, संवत् १५७३ वर्षे वसन्त श्रृतु चैत्रमासे
२. कृष्णपक्षे सप्तमयाम् तिथौ शनिवारे मूल नक्षत्रे
३. वरीयान नाम योगे। अखंड आज्ञा प्रतिपालकम्। स-
४. मग्रेश्वर्य कलित। सुरत्राण श्री बहलोल-
५. तनय पातिसाह श्री सिकदंर विजय-
६. राज्ये सेष अहिया सुत बाज़ीद
७. सुत सेष सिंकदंर सिराती गोत्रे तस्य भा-
८. र्या बीबी मुरादि शतू श्री दिलावर षात
९. पुत्री। सखाणी गोत्रीय॥ मुराद पुन्या-
१०. र्थं स्वपुन्यार्थं ब़ीबी श्री आसा पातिसाहि
११. श्री बहलोल ततसुत श्री सिकंदर-
१२. स्य भग्नी तया कारीपितोयं (कारापितो यं) कू-
१३. पः। आचान्द्रार्क नन्दतु स भ्रार्तभ्रातृव्यो- (स भ्रातृ-भ्रातृत्वय च)
१४. श्च 11 सन् ९२३ माह स-
१५. फर तारीक २० मांगलां (मंगल) भवतु।

Translation:

In the Samvat year 1573, in the spring season, on the seventh day of the dark half of the month Caitra, on Saturday, in Mula Nakṣatra, in the Yoga called Varīyān.[73] In the victorious reign of Pātishāh

[73] There are twenty-seven Yogas; and Variyān the eighteenth Yoga. Cf. Nemi Chandra Shastri, *Bharitya Jyotisha* (Benaras 1976), pp. 117–18.

Śrī Sikandar, son of Ṣuratarāṇa Śri Bahlol who rules with his orders unchallenged, endowed with all wealth. Shaikh Sikandar, son of Bājīd, son of Shaikh Āhaiā belonged to the Serātī clan (*gotra*). His wife was Bībī (Lady) Murādi Khatu. who was the daughter of Dilāwar Khāt of Sarvāṇī clan (*gotra*). For the merit of Murādi and herself, Bībī Asā, daughter of Patishāhi Srī Bahlol and sister of Śrī Sikandar, caused a well to be dug. So long as the Sun and Moon exist, may she be happy along with her brother and offspring of the brother (nephews)! In the Hijri year 923, 20 Saphara. Let it be auspicious!

19. Topra-Delhi Pillar Inscription

Reported by Cunningham, *ASR*, V, p. 144.

This inscription was engraved after the Aśokan pillar was removed from Topra (or Tobra) at the foot of the Siwallik hills (near Khizrabad) to Delhi by Fīrūz Shāh Tughluq. It consists of three lines written in Sanskrit in Nagari script. The pillar bears various names: 'Bhimsena's pillar', Golden pillar', Fīrūz Shāh's pillar' and 'Delhi Siwallik Pillar'.[74] The present inscription is dated Samvat year 1581, the 5th day of the waning moon of the Caitra/Saturday, 25 February A.D. 1524.

Text:

सम (संवत्) १५८१
वर्षे चैत्र वदि
५ लि. अम

Translation:

In the Samvat year 1581, on the 5th day of the bright half of the month Caitra, written by Ama.

20. Topra-Delhi Pillar Inscription

Reported by Cunningham, *ASR*, V, p. 144, pl. no. XLI.

This inscription was found on the Aśokan pillar which now stands at Fīrūz Shāh Kotla. It has seven lines of mixed Sanskrit and

[74] E. Hultzsch, *Inscriptions of Asoka*, I (Delhi 1969), p. xv.

Persian in Nagari script. A few words of the sixth and seventh lines are totally damaged. It is dated in the Samvat year 1581, Tuesday, the 13th day of the waning moon of Caitra/23 March A.D. 1524.

Sulṭān Ibrāhim is, of course, Sulṭān Ibrāhim Lodi, who ruled from 1517 to 1526.[75] Bahādur Khān was apparently a noble man during the reign of Sulṭān Ibrāhim.

The inscription contains the interesting expression '*Umarvidarāj*' which is almost a transliteration of the Persian phrase '*umr-i wai darāz*', 'let his life be long'.

Text:[76]

सिद्धि श्री संवत् १५८१ व (वर्षे)
चैत्र वदि १३ भौम दिने
लि० विअदा (व्यास) सायण
सुतः सुल्तान इबराहि-
म की उम (र) विदराजः मी-
वहादर षान विन मी- अवा
उमर दराज मी।

Translation:

To the holy one, in the Samvat year 1581 on Tuesday, the 13th day of the waning moon of Caitra, written by Viyadā (Vayās) son Sāyaṇa, ... Sulṭān Ibrāhim, may his life be long . . . . Bahādar Khān . . . . . .

21. Delhi Mirat Pillar Inscription

Reported by Cunningham, *ASR*, V, p. 144, pl. no. XLI. m.

This is another inscription which was found on the Aśokan pillar. It comprises three lines written in Sanskrit in Nagari script and is dated in the Samvat year 1581, the first (day) of the waning moon of Pauṣa/A.D. 1524.

[75] The *Delhi Sultanate*, edited by R.C. Majumdar (Vidya Bhavan Series, Bombay 1960), VI, p. 148.

[76] Text of the inscription is also given by Cunningham op. cit., V. p. 144.

Text:[77]

Samvat 1581 Varṣe
Pauṣa Sudi 1 ii Amara
Kuperojya vālli

Translation:

In the Samvat year 1581, on the first (day) of the waning moon of Pauṣa, written by Amara . . . . (3rd line obscure)

[77] Text of the inscription as given by Cunningham, op. cit., V.p. 144.

Part II
Inscriptions of Uttar Pradesh

1. Etawah Fort Inscription

Reported in *ARIE*. 1962–3 List No. B 959. Impression obtained from the Chief Epigraphist's Office, Mysore. Text and translation given here for the first time.

This inscription was found on a slab lying in the *kuṭī* (cell) of a *bābā* (mendicant) near the fort mound, two miles from Etawah town. It has sixteen lines, written in Sanskrit in Nagari script mixed with local dialect. The inscription is badly defaced in part (lines 7 to 16) where only a few words can be deciphered. The letter ṣ is represented by *kha*. It is dated in the Śaka year 1113, the 9th day of the bright half of the month Vaiśākha 5 May A.D. 1191.

The inscription is a victory record (*Vijaya-lekha*).[1] It tells us that Vijayasena, son of Śri Mahīpāla Vīrasena had obtained victory in a battle. Although the text is broken at this point, the vanquished enemy may be represented by the words 'Gori' and 'Turka', the former standing for Shāhabuddīn of Ghor, and the latter for Turks or, more generally, Muslims. The inscription goes on to record the names Śrī Udaya, Ajayacanda and Vijayacanda.

Vijayasena, son of Vīrasena, cannot of course, be identified with the Sena ruler Vijayasena, who died in A.D. 1159 and whose father was Hemantasena, though his great grandfather was named Vīrasena.[2] Thus apart from the fact that we have no royal titles for Vīrasena, in our inscription chronology and geography as well as genealogy forbid identification with the Sena ruler. It seems that Vijayasena was a local chief, the son of a noble man Mahīpāla Vīrasena who may have served under the Gāhaḍavāla ruler. The name of the

[1] Sircar translates this word as a 'royal record', *Glossary*, p. 372
[2] *DHNI*, I, p. 386.

Gāhaḍavāla ruler, Jayaccandra is not, however, mentioned, though it may have occurred in the damaged portion. Vijayacandra was the name of Jayaccandra's father, but the person of this name mentioned in our record has no title whatsoever and cannot possibly be that ruler.

As noted above we have presumed that the word 'Gori' refers to Shahābuddīn Muḥammad bin Sām of Ghor. But if so, this is a very early use of the word 'Ghori' (of Ghor) in India. It does not occur in the Nagari legends of the Ghorian ruler's own coins recorded by Nelson Wright in his *Catalogue of the Coins of Indian Museum, Calcutta*. The defeat of the Ghorian troops in this inscription may refer to the first battle of Tarain, which was fought in A.H. 587/A.D. 1191.[3] However, we have no evidence about any direct conflict between Gāhaḍavāla rulers and Muḥammād Ghorī, but on the other hand all the old Hindu writers state that Jayaccandra and Prithivirāja defeated Muḥammād Ghorī many times.[4] But Persian chronicles record that Muḥammād Ghorī fought only two battles with Prithivirāja at Tarain (1191–2) and one battle with Jayaccandra near Chandāwar, (1193). The *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī* records that 'the whole of the *Rānās* of Hind along with the Rāe of Koḷah'[5] assisted Pṛithvīrāja against Muḥammād Ghorī in the first battle of Tarain. These *rānäs* are not named. Therefore the matter must be left open.

Text:

१. सिद्धम् सिद्धि
२. अथ विजय सा (ले) खा लिख्यतें
३. श्री शाके ग्यारह सो तेरहवें ----------
४. साष सित नवमी श्री महीपाल
५. वीरसेन सुत विजयसेन वि-
६. जयी (भ) वेत् वीर विजयी व – ये
७. न (चि) त्मने ---------- जी
८. रक्कन के — म का 11 गोरी के धर्म के

[3] Ibid., II, p. 1088. The Hijri year 587 began on 29 January 1191 and ended on 17 January 1192.

[4] Vidyapati, *Puruṣaprīkśā* (Bombay 1914), pp. 146–7 and (Darbhanga S.E. 1810), p. 223ff. Nayacandra, *Rambhāmanjarīnātaka* (Bombay 1899), I, p. 5; *Rāso Sāra*, pp. 95–8. (Cf. Roma Niyogi, op.cit.p. 107; Dasharatha Sharma, *Early Chauhan Dynasties*, p. 81).

[5] Raverty, op. cit. I, p.459, fn.8.

९. वाघ – शूर – ष्ठि लालिदियो (धि) ष्ठमान
१०. को (पि) घान जोरि जन्म की (?) 11 गोरी-
११. ल्यान कोल लाभ लांड्कूलैकै-लोल
१२. लोचन – गा ---------- द्वेर ---------- मके
१३. कारि मैघ मंडल धमर अंधिया
१४. रो श्रीउदय अजयचंद को विजय
१५. चंद धर्म की तुरक पराने तत-
१६. क ---------- गरक़ है ----------

Translation:

1. Hail
2. Now, (this) 'victory record' has been written.
3. In 1113 Śaka year
4. On the 9th day of Vaiśākha
5–6. Vijayasena, son of Sri Mahīpāla Vīrasena.
7. ————————
8. ———— Gorī ———— religion.
9–12. ————————
13. ———— darkness of the sky ————.
14. Śrī Udai Ajayacanda
15. and Vijayacanda — for religion.
16. ———— Turka.

2. Stone Inscription of Arhai Kangura Masjid at Váranasi

Reported by Führer, *The Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*; Varanasi, 1967, p. 207.

Führer refers to a slab in the roof of the second storey of Arhai Kangura masjid at Varanasi, which bears a long Sanskrit inscription, dated Samvat 1248/A.D. 1191, recording the construction of certain tanks, temples and maths in and around Varanasi. However, he does not give its text. The slab is no longer found at the place mentioned by Führer, and there is no record of it anywhere else.[6]

[6] Personal visit to the site and enquires made there by the author.

3. Kapildhara Stone Inscription

So far unpublished. Reported in *ARIE*, Delhi (1968), 1963–4 List No. B 483. Impression of the inscription obtained from the Chief Epigraphist's Office (Mysore).

The Kapildharā tank[7] is situated near the junction of the Baran and the Ganges in Varanasi district.[8] The inscription was found on the pedestal of a broken image of *Nandin* (Śiva's bull) in front of the Vṛṣabhadhvaja temple.[9] Dated v.s. 1251 Mārgga (Margśīrṣa) Sudi 2, Wednesday/16 November A.D. 1194.

The inscription, consists of two lines in Sanskrit, in Nagari script; double consonants are used. It records the construction of the Vṛṣbhadhavaja temple which was built by *ṭhakkura*[10] Lakṣmidhara of the Vāstavaya[11] family. The use of the title *ṭhakkura* for a non-kshatriya is interesting but is in accordance with the usage of the time.

Text:

सिद्धम् संवत् १२५ (१) मार्ग्ग मार्गशीर्ष सुदि २
बुद्धे (बुधे) वास्तव्य वंन्य[12] (?)
ठक्कुर लक्ष्मीधरस्य वृषमध्वज कीर्त्तिनम्
शुभमस्तु

Translation:

Hail! The Vṛṣabhadhvaja temple (was built) by *ṭhakkura* Lakmīdhara of Vāstavaya family in the Samvat year 1251 on the 2nd day of the bright half of Mārgaśīrṣa, Wednesday..

[7] This tank adjoining the temple is known to have been re-excavated by the chieftains of the Keladi dynasty of Mysore in V.S. 1712/A.D. 1655. P. Prasad, 'Two Stone Inscriptions of Keladi Dynasty', *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, Jadavpur (1974), pp. 459–63.

[8] The fair held along the Panch-Kosī road begins at Maṇikarṇikā and extends to the village of Kapildharā where Śiva is worshipped. M.A. Sherring, *Benares, The Sacred City of Hindus* (Delhi 1976), p. 178. H.R. Nevill, *Benaras District Gazetteer*, p. 67.

[9] The name of the temple is given in the inscription. *Vṛṣabhadhvaja* is one of the epithets employed for lord Śiva. V.S. Apte, *Practical Sanskrit English Dictionary*, s.v.

[10] *Ṭhakkura* was a feudal title commonly applied to Brāhmaṇa, Ksatriya and Kāyastha functionaries of medieval times in Northern India. See Introduction, Sec. 5.

[11] Vāstavaya (mod. Śrīvāstava) is a community of the Kāyasthas. Cf. Sircar, *Glossary*, p. 367.

[12] Read वंश

4. Baghari Stone Inscription

Noticed by Cunningham, *ASR*, XXI, p. 82, No. 52; published by Hultzch in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft*, XL, pp. 51–4; edited by Kielhorn in *EI*, I, 1884, pp. 207–14. No photograph available. Present where abouts of the slab not known.

Kielhorn designates this as the Bateswar stone inscription, (on, p. 207, fn. 2). He, however, identifies it with the one noticed by Cunningham who had found it on the banks of the lake at Baghari. V.A. Smith and Hoeg also voiced the suspicion that the label attributing the stone to Bateswar in Agra district is wrong and that it had actually been found at Baghari near Mahoba (*JASB*, XLIV, pt. 1, 1895, p. 158, fn. 1).

The inscription is said to have been engraved on a stone now broken right through from top to bottom. It has twenty-four lines in Sanskrit verses in Nagari script. The letter *b* is represented by the letter *v* everywhere except in *udabhūvur*, line 10 *babhūva*, lines 13, 14, 16, 20 & 22 and *bibhartti*, line 24: the dental sibilant is used fifteen times for the palatal sibilant (e.g., in *saureś*, line 1, *vināsa*, line 6) and the palatal for the dental in *śaro*, line 11, *āśīd*, line 14, and *sachiveṣu* line 21, before sibilant *h*, the dental *n* is employed instead of *anusvāra* in the interior of simple words in *vanśas*, line 2, *payānsi*, line 9, *hanso* = *vatansita*, line 11, *hansas*, line 14, *pumānsam*, line 21 (but not in *avataṁsaḥ*, line 2) and exceptionally, at the end of a word in *niraṁkuśan* = *sañca*, line 9, *adhikan* = *harin*, line 10, *vidyāvatān* = *sa*, line 22. Besides *ujjvala* is usually spelt *Ujvala* in lines 14 and 18. Dated (last verse) 1252 Vikrama year on the 5th lunar day of bright half of Āśvina Sunday/10 September A.D. 1195.

The inscription begins with the invocation '*oṁ oṁ namo bhagavate vāṣudevāya*, (Oṁ Oṁ! Adoration to the holy Vāsudeva), and is followed by two verses invoking Śauri (Viṣṇu). The standard genealogy of the Candella (*Candrātreya*) kings is given beginning from Arti and the moon down to Paramarddi.

This is the earliest inscription which states that Yaśovarman was the son of Madanavarman and the father of Paramarddideva;[13]

[13] H.C. Ray remarks that in the Candella grants the name of Paramarddi is usually placed after that of Madanavarman with the epithet '*tatpadānudhyāt*'. In some of the other stone inscriptions the names are also placed with the word *atha bhavat* (then came). From this it has been generally supposed that Madanavarman was immediately succeeded by Paramarddi. (Cf. *DHNI*, II, p. 712; also N.S. Bose, op.cit., p. 92).

he is described as an ornament of the great rulers causing joy to people. Smith[14] suggests that Yaśovarman pre-deceased his father Madanavarman. But Ray thinks that verses 8–10 indicate that Yaśovarman actually reigned for a short time.[15] He also assumes that Yaśovarman's accession to the throne was not peaceful and that Paramarddi probably superseded his father.

The royal genealogy is followed by that of a family of Brāhmaṇs of the Vaśiṣtha *gotra* who served as officers under the Candella kings. The real founder of their line was Lakṣmīdhara. His son, 'the chief of the twice-born' (*dvijendra*), was Lāhaḍa, who served as *mantrī* of king Madana. By his wife he had a son named Sallakśaṇa, through whom Paramarddideva became 'lord of the earth with three eyes.' Sallakśaṇa's son Puruṣottama, when still a youth, was appointed by the same king to be his chief minister (*Saciveṣumukahya bhavaṁ*).[16]

The inscription records the fact that Sallakśaṇa built a temple of Viṣṇu and another of Śiva. The second temple was left unfinished by him and was completed by his son Puruṣottama.

The inscription was composed by *kavīndra* Devadhara, son of *kavīcakravartī* Gadādhara; the *saṁdhān-vighramahā saciva* and grandson of the *gauḍānvayaikatilaka* (unique ornament of Gauḍa family), Lakṣmīdhara.[17]

Text (as read by Kielhorn):

१. ओं ओं नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
जयन्ति वा(बा)हवः सौ(शौ)रेश्चतुर्वर्गफलद्रुमाः ।
निर्भरश्रीपरी(रि)रम्भ पर्याप्त पुलका UU ॥१॥ [Anuṣṭubh]
U-U--UU-U-Ū U-U--UU-U-

टि

२. इतिच्छलात्स्पृष्ट पयोधिपुत्री(लि)पयोधरःपातुरथाङ्गपाणिः ॥२॥
[Upendravajrā]

अत्रेरजायत विलोचन पुण्डरीकाद्देवो गिरीन्द्र (तन) यादयितावतंसः ।
वन्शस्ततोयमु[18] U-UU-U-Ū

[14] *IA*, XXV (1896), p. 205, fn. 46; XXXVII (1908), p. 129.
[15] *DHNI* II, pp. 712–3.
[16] *EI*, I (1892), p. 210, Verse 28.
[17] *EI*, I, p. 211, Verse 30.
[18] Read वंश

३. मुक्ताफ(लै)रिवयशोभिरशोभिशुभ्रैः ॥३॥ [Vasantatilakā]
अस्मिन्नुद्दामदोर्द्दण्डरवण्डितारातिमण्डलाः।
जज्ञिरे चारू(रू)चरित्रा (श्चान्द्रा) त्रेयमहीभुजः ॥४॥ [Anuṣṭubh]
तेष्वाविरास विलसत्करवालदण्डद-

४. म्भोलिनिर्ददलितशात्रवगोत्रपक्षः
उद्दामदर्प्परिपुराजवलाभिघातख्यातोद्यमोमदनवर्म्ममहीमहेन्द्र (:) ॥५॥
[Vasantatilakā]
सौधे सोच्छ(च्छव)सितं स्थितं सकरुणंलीलाशुको व्याहृतोदृष्टो

५. वाष्पजलौघरूद्धनयनं क्रीडाकुरंङ्गीशिशुः।
त्रासाद्यस्ययियासुना वनभुवं कान्ताज (ने)न द्विषां
प्रत्यावृत्तिनि(राश)मानसतया किङ्किन्नवाचेष्टितं ॥६॥
सिन्दूरिताहितमत्तंङ्ग- [Śārdūlavikrīḍita]

६. जकुम्भ (पृष्ठे) येताहितोऽलिमलिनः करवालदण्डः।
युद्धे(ऽ)रिभिर्निजविनास (श) विसर्पि(शैघ्र्यआ)-
लोकिकेतुरिव (नू) तनसूर्यसंङ्गी ॥७॥ [Vasantatilakā]
अजायत यशोवर्म्मा ततश्चन्द्र इवांबुधेः (इवाम्बुधेः)

७. योभवज्जगदानन्दी म(हेश्च)रशिरोमणिः ॥८॥ [Śloka Anuṣṭubh]
कुन्देन्दुकान्तयाविजगद्विसारियदी(य)कीर्त्त्याधवलीकृतेषु।
केशेषु जा(ता) (व) तनिर्ज्जराणामभूतपूर्व्वा पलितस्य शङ्का ॥९॥
[Upajāti]
आसीत्तोतो न-

८. म्रनरेन्द्र मौलिरत्नप्रभापाटलपादपीठः।
अखर्व्वगर्व्वप्रतिपक्षिसार्थ (दो) र्द्दर्प्पमर्द्दी परमार्द्दिदेवः ॥१०॥ [Upajāti]
परस्पर विरोधस्य(त)स्य राज्ये कथैव का।
संङ्गतं श्रीसरस्वत्योरपि येन प्रवर्त्तितं ॥११॥ [Śloka Anuṣṭubh]

९. प्रचलति ककुभ (ञ्ज)याय यस्मिन्हरिस्तुरधूतधरापराग पु (ञ्ज):।
कवलितरविरस्मि(श्मि)तीव्रतापादिव पिवति स्मा प(या)-
न्सि[19] तोयरासे (शे): ॥१२॥ [Pushpitāgra]
यत्प्रतापदहने निरंकुशन्सञ्चरत्यपि-[20]

१०. सपत्नसद्मसु
उ(द्व)भूवुरधिक[21] (न्ह)रिन्मणिस्या(श्यां)मकोमलतृणानिसर्व्वतः ॥१३॥
अथास्ति लोकत्रितयप्रतीतं वसिष्ठगो(त्रं) सुकृतैकपात्रं। [Rathoddhatā]
यस्मिन्न जायन्त विसु(शु)द्धवृत्ता विप्राः पयो-

[19] पायन्सि [20] निरंकुशं [21] रधिकंहरि

११. धाविय(व) मौक्तिकौघाः ॥१४॥ [Upajāti]
तेषु क्रमादखिलसा(शा)स्त्रश(स)रोविहारिहन्सोवतन्सित[22] शिवापतिपादपद्मः।
लक्ष्मीधरः स्फुरित (भास्व)दसी(शी)तरस्मि(श्मि)सत्र-
(ब्र)ह्मचारिगुणमौक्तिकसिंधुरासीत् ॥१५॥ [Vasanatatilakā]

१२. यदध्वरोल्लासिहुता(स)(श)धूमलेखाः स्फु(टा)नेक विभिङ्ग[23] भाजः।
दिगङ्गनापीनपयोधरेषु विलास (वे)[24] णिश्रियमाश्रय(न्त)- ॥१६॥ [Upajāti]
(अ) लभतजनिमस्मात्सच्चरित्रैकपात्रं विनयसदन मे-

१३. कं वत्सराजो द्विजेन्द्रः।
जलधिरिव(गभीर):शैलद्वसारो[25] मुररिपुरिव
लक्ष्मी संश्रयो यो ब(भू)व ॥१७॥ [Mālanī]
निर्म्मलगुण गण व (तश्चमि) त्रोदयमोदिनोम्बुजस्येव
शुक्लद्विज परिभोग्या।

१४. बभूवयस्यामला लक्ष्मीः ॥१८॥ [Āryā]
आशी(सी) दशेषश्रुति सिन्धुहन्सस्त[26] स्यात्मजो लाहडनामधेयः।
पु(पोष)यो निर्म्मलवाग्विलासंरे(मे)(च) यः सज्जनमानसेषु ॥१९॥ [Upajāti]
मंत्रिणां धुरि कलोज्व(ज्जव)ल-

१५. कायं यश्चकार मदनक्षितिपालः।
विष्टपत्रितयमे(व ?)जिगीषुः पंचवाण इवसी (शी) तमयूखं (खः) ॥२०॥
कुटुम्व (म्ब)कुमुदप्रौढ़प्रमोदने प(टी)यसी [Svāgata]
तस्यासी द्विजराजस्य प्रभाहृदय व-

१६. ल्लभा ॥२१॥ [Śloka Anuṣṭubh]
ततोबभूव द्विजरा (द्स)मक्षः सल्लक्षणश्चारूचरित्रपात्रम्
अ(भू) त्रि (ने)त्र परमदिर्ददेव क्षीणोश्वरो येन विनिर्म्मलेन ॥२२॥ [Upajāti]
राज्य- (रम)शेषमेव भुजयोर्व्विन्यस्य यस्य स्वयं वीर-

१७. श्री परमर्द्दिभूपरिवृढ़ः प्रौढ़ प्रमो(दो)दयः।
त्रस्यद्वा (द्वा)ल कुरूंगसा(शा)वकदृशामुद्दास कामस्पृशां
पत्र(त्त्र)न्यासकला विलासर(सि)क (स्व)न्तोभवत्सततम् ॥२३॥
लक्ष्मीकेलि निकेतन- [Śārdūlavikrīḍita]

[22] Read हंसोवतंसित्
[23] Read विभङ्ग
[24] The original word is [वि]
[25] शैलद्वय सारो
[26] हंसरस्त

१८. स्य भजतोमित्रोदयस्मेरतां
दूराधः कृतकंटकस्य गुणिनो लोकैकतापच्छिदः।
अम्भोजस्य च तस्य च त्रिभुवने साधर्म्म्यमत्युज्व(ज्जव) लं
वैधर्म्म्यं तु पराङ्व्मुखः स न कदाप्यासीद्विजाधीश्वरे ॥२४॥ [Śārdūlavikrīḍita]

१९. (प्रा) सादी वैष्णवस्तेन निर्मितोन्तर्व्वहन्हरिम्।
मूर्ध्ना स्पृस(श)तियो नित्यं पदमस्यैव मध्यमम् ॥२५॥ [Śloka, Anuṣṭubh]
अकारय(श्च)स्फटिकावदातमसाविदम्म(न्दि)र मिन्दुमौलेः।
त जातु यस्मिन्निवसन्सदे-

२०. वः कैलासवासाय चकार चेतः ॥२६॥ [Upajāti]
पीताम्व(म्ब)रं यस्य यशो बभूव सुदर्शनं यस्य वपुर्विजज्ञे
गुणोत्करी यस्य च नंदकोभूदासीत्स(त)स्मात्पुरुषोत्तमाख्यः ॥२७॥ [Upajāti]
त्रिभुवन महनीयवृ-

२१. त्तवृद्धं शिशुमपि य परमाद्दिपार्थिवेन्द्रः।
अनयतश(स)चिवेमुख्यभाव जगति गुणाहि पुमान्समर्घयन्ति ॥२८॥
अनेनाचार सु (शु)चिना व्र(ब्र)ह्मलोकें(वह)ारिणाः। [Pushpitāgrā]
कीर्तिनं जनकस्येदमसिद्धं सिद्धिमापितम् ॥२९॥ [Śloka, Anuṣṭubh]

२२. (गौ)डान्वयैकतिलकस्य गदाधराख्यो लक्ष्मीनरस्यतनयः कवि-
चक्रवर्ती
विद्यावतान्स परमः परमर्द्दिदेव संधान विग्र(ह)महासचिवो बभूव ॥३०॥
तस्यात्मजो देवधरः कवी- [Vasantatilakā]

२३. न्द्रः प्रस (श)स्तिमेतामतुलाञ्चकार
अस्यानुजोधर्म्मधरश्च धीरःकुतूहलाद्रा(द्वा)लकविर्ल्लिलेख ॥३१॥ [Upajāti]
उच्चकार चमत्कारकारक सर्व्व शिल्पिनाम्
------ (धी)रो महाराजः सोमराजगंभूरिमाम् ॥३२॥ [Śloka, Anuṣṭubh]

२४. शंभूश्च विष्णुश्च बिभर्त्ति यावज्जटाकलापं च भु (जान्त) रं च
पा (थो) धिजं धाम च कौस्तुभञ्च स्थिरास्तु कीर्तिश्च
कृतिश्च तावत् ॥३३॥ [Upajāti]
पक्ष (त्रा) क्ष मुखादित्यसंख्ये विक्रमव(त्स)रे आश्विनु शुक्ल
पच्चम्यां वासरे वासरेशितुः ॥३४॥ [Śloka, Anuṣṭubh]
श्रीरस्तु(11)

Translation:[27]

1. Oṁ Oṁ! Adoration to holy Vāsudeva! Victorious arms of Śauri[28] are the trees which yield the four objects of life (virtue, wealth, pleasure and final liberation), every hair on which (becomes) erect (with pleasure) at the close embrace of Lakṣmī. (1).

2. May he who holds the discus in his hand, protect (you), he who under the pretence of ---------- touched the breasts of the daughter of the ocean (Lakṣmī). (2)! From the eye-lotus of Atri was born the god[29] (who is) the ornament of the beloved husband of the daughter of the lord of mountains. (The race is praised as follows)—

3. From him (sprang) this race (which) ——— has shone with its bright fame as if (decorated) with pearls.(3) In it there were born of pleasing conduct the (Candrātreya) princes, who, by their powerful, massive arms have crushed hosts of enemies. (4)

4. Among them appeared the lord of the earth Madanavarman, who with his flashing sword, scattered (his) adversaries (and) whose strength become known by his onslaught on a hostile kings, elated with pride; (resembling) the great Indra who cut off the wings of the mountains with his thunderbolt (and) whose might became famous by his killing (the demon) Vala. (5)

5. The wives of his enemies, standing sighing in their palaces, addressing in pitiful terms their favourite parrots, looking, their sight dimmed by streams of tears, at the young ones of their pet antelopes—what did they not to when, afraid of him, they were about to depart for the forest, (and) when their minds had no hope ever to return? (6)

6. In battle his sword, applied by him to the broad frontal globes, covered with red lead, of the elephants of adversaries, (and) darkened by the bees[30] (which stuck to it) was seen by

[27] Keilhorn's translation checked throughout with the text.
[28] Viṣṇu — Kṛṣṇa.
[29] The moon, borne on the head by Śiva: the husband of Pārvatī.
[30] The bees had sat before on the temples of elephants.

his enemies, moving rapidly to their own destruction, like Rāhu,[31] coming in contact with the newly (risen) sun. (7)

7. As the moon, the crest-jewel of Maheśvara, (arose) from the ocean, so was born from him Yaśovarman who was an ornament of great rulers causing joy to people. (8) Whose fame, spreading in the three worlds with the loveliness of the jasmine and the moon, made the hair (of men) appear white, and thus caused the unprecedented notion that people, before they had attained old age, had, alas! 'turned grey'.(9)

8. From him has sprung Parmarddideva whose foot-stool is pale red with the lustre of the crest-jewels of kings bowing down (before him, and) who is prone to crush the pride in their arms of antagonists, filled with no mean conceit.(10) How could one even mention mutual conflict in the reign of this (king) who has brought about the union of both fortune and eloquence (in his own person)? (11)

9. When he marched out to conquer the regions, the clouds of dust raised by the hoofs of his horses, suffering from intense heat as it were because they had devoured the rays of the sun and swallowed the water of the sea.(12) Although the fire of his prowess spreads, unchecked, over the habitations of his rivals,—

10. there have yet, on all sides, sprung up in abundance tender blades of grass dark-green like emeralds.(13) Now there is well known in the three worlds, the family of Vasiṣtha the unique receptacle of good acts, in which were born sages of pure conduct, as heaps of pearls (are found) in the ocean.(14)

11. Among these, there was in the course of time Lakṣmīdhara, a swan sporting in the lake of all sciences, who ornamented the lotus-feet of the husband of Śiva; an ocean of the pearls of good qualities rivalling the brilliantly shining sun. (15)

12. The lines of smoke of whose bright sacrificial fires, with their numerous clearly visible undulating lines assumed the

[31] The demon who is supposed to seize the sun and the moon and thus cause eclipses.

beautiful appearance of braids of hair (put) playfully on the big breasts of women of the quarters. (16)

13. From him took his origin the chief of the twice-born Vatsarāja, a unique receptacle of good conduct, a home of propriety; who was deep like the ocean, reputed for his firmness like a mountain and like the enemy of Viṣṇu (Mura), the resort of fortune. (17) Endowed as he was with a host of spotless excellences and delighted at the elevation of friends, his righteous wealth become an object of enjoyment for pure twice-born people, —

14. just as the faultless beauty of the lotus, which has many clean fibres and blooms at the rising of the sun, is enjoyed by white birds. (18) He had a son named Lāhaḍa, a swan in the sea of sacred lore, who nurtured the play of graceful utterance and dwelt, as in lakes, in the minds of good men. (19) Him, whose person was beautified by (his acquaintance with) the arts, of the king Madana placed at the head of his counsellors, just as —

15. the god of love does the cool-rayed (moon), when about to subdue the three worlds. (20) The king of the twice-born had (for his wife) dear to his heart, Prabhā (a lady) dexterous in bringing into full bloom the family lotus. (21)

16. From her sprang the king of the twice-born in human form, Sallakṣaṇa, a receptacle of pleasuring conduct through whom free from stains, Parmarddideva has become a lord of the earth with three eyes. (22) Having placed on, whose arms the whole (burden) of government, the illustrious lord of the earth, the brave —

17. Paramarddin, a cause of excessive joy to those whose eyes are like the eyes of frightened young deer who were filled with boundless love, always let his mind delight in the playful art of ornamenting (their bodies). (23) Being the abode of the play of fortune, smiling with joy at the —

18. elevation of friends, having laid seditious people quite low, being endowed with excellent qualities (and) the one remover of the distress of the people, it was quite clear in the three worlds that he shared the properties of the day lotus, which is the abode of the play of Lakṣmī, blooms at the rising of

the sun is quite free from thorns, has many fibres (and) cools in an unsurpassed manner the heat of people; but he differed (from the day—lotus) in this that he was never averse the supreme lord of the twice-born. (24)[32]

19. He erected a temple of Viṣṇu containing (an image of) Hari, which with its top always touches his own middle stride (the sky). (25) And he also caused this crystal-white habitation of the moon crested (Śiva) to be built, residing in which the god has never—

20. turned his thought to dwelling on Kailāśa (26) From him sprang (a son) named Puruṣottama (name of Viṣṇu) whose fame has taken possession of the sky, whose appearance is recognised to be beautiful and whose host of excellencies causes rejoicing; (27) whom, old in conduct that deserves to be glorified in the three worlds,

21. though still a youth, the king Paramarddin has appointed to be chief of his ministers, for that which makes a man valued in the world, is his qualities. (28) He, pure in his conduct, has completed this praiseworthy work of his parent who roams about in Brāhmaṇ's world which had been left incomplete—(29)

22. Lakṣmīdhara, the unique ornament of the Gauḍa family, had a son named Gadādhara a supreme chief of poets; who, first among the learned, was the great minister of peace and war of Parmardideva. (30)

23. His son, the Chief of the poets Devadhara, has composed this unequalled eulogy; and his younger brother, the steadfast Dharmadhara, the young poet, has eagerly written it (31)———son of Somarāja, the steadfast Mahārāja (?) who rouses the admiration of all artisans, who has engraved it. —(32)

24. As long as Śambhu has his tresses of matted hair and the light which has risen from the ocean, (the moon) and the Viṣṇu his breast (?) and Kaustubha jewel, so long may the fame (of the founders) and their work endure! (33).

In the year Vikrama, counted by the wings = 2 the faces (Śiva is called pañchamukha) of the three eyed = 5 and

[32] i.e. Śiva; in the case of Sallakṣaṇa; and the moon in the case of the day-lotus.

Ādityas = 12 on the fifth (lunar day) of the bright half of Āśvina on Sunday (the lord of the day) (34)

May fortune attend!

5. Belkhara Pillar Inscription

Noticed by Vogel in *PRASI(NC)* 1907–8, p. 39, reported by Cunningham *ASR*, XI, p. 128; Plate No. XXXVIII. Edited by Rakhal Das Banerji, *JASB*, New Series, VII, pp. 763–5.

Belkhara is a small village. 1½ miles to the south of Ahrora and 12 miles to the south-east of Chunar in Mirzapur district. In a field near the village, there is a stone pillar with two inscriptions. There are rough carvings of figures of a bird and horses between the two inscriptions. There is also a small image of Ganeśa in relief at the bottom of the shaft. The upper inscription of five lines is now illegible but the lower inscription is in good condition. Nine lines are written in Sanskrit in the Nagari script. As regards the orthography, the consonant *kha* is replaced by sibilant *ṣ* and palatal *ś* by dental *s*. The lower part of the inscription is dated v.s. 1253 Vaiśākh Sudi 11 Tuesday/29 April A.D. 1197.

The inscription opens with the word *Paramabhaṭṭārakotyādi* (the supreme ruler) but the name of the king is not mentioned. Next follow the royal titles, *Aśvapati*, *Gajapati*, *Narapati*, *Rājatryādhipati vividha vidyā vicāra vācaspati*, which were usually employed by the Gāhaḍavāla kings. The omission of the ruler's name may be due either to damage done to a portion of the inscription or possibly because of an uncertainty as to who was on the throne at the time, A.D. 1196.

The chief purpose of the inscription was to record the construction of the pillar on which it was engraved by *rāuta*,[33] Sakaruka, son of *rāuta* Ananda, during the time of *rāṇaka*[34] Vijayakarṇa of Belkhara.

[33] Military beneficiaries are known as *rāutas* under the Candellas and Gāhaḍavālas in Bundelkhand and U.P. They belonged to *Brāhmaṇa*, *Kṣātriya* and *Kāyastha* communities, and were mostly unrelated to the ruling classes (cf. Sharma, *Indian Feudalism* p. 93) Sircar says that the word *rāuta* was used as the title of nobility. Cf. *Epigraphy*, p. 343.

[34] The term *rāṇaka* has been used to denote one of the feudatory chiefs. (Sircar *Epigraphy*, p. 342). But Sharma suggests that the *rāṇakas* and *rāutas* are not men-

The record is particularly interesting because of its date, Samvat 1253 / A.D. 1197 which falls just two or three years after the final defeat and death of rājā Jayaccandra, the last Gāhaḍavāla ruler of Kannauj. This inscription reveals that the Mirzapur district was still a part of Kanauj (Kānyakubja) territory, though there might have been some uncertainty as to who the Gāhaḍavāla sovereign was at this time.

Text:[35] *Plate VI.*

परमभट्टारकोत्यादि राजवलि — श्वप-
ति गजपति नरपति राजत्रयाधिपति विविध विद्या
विचार वाचस्पति श्रीमत्कान्यकुब्ज विजय
राज्ये संवत् १२५३ वैशाष सुदि ११ भौमे
बेलषरां पाल्यां राणाक श्री विजयकर्ण रा-
ज्ये धर्मकारी नाम्नामतः राऊत श्री आ (नन्द)
सुत राऊत सकरुकस्य कीर्तियेन
घटिता चयं सूत्रधार जाल्हण सुमं (शुभं)
रा 11 श्री सकरूकस्य वल ---------- रां।

Translation:

The supreme ruler . . . . . the lord of horses, lord of elephants, lord of men, king of three lordships, distinguished scholar of all sorts of knowledge and science (vācaspati), during the victorious kingdom of the (ruler) of Kānyakubja, in the Saṁvat year 1253 on the 11th day of the waxing moon of Vaiśākha, on Tuesday, during the reign of *rāṇaka* Śri Vijayakarṇa, chief of Belṣara upholder of religion. (This pillar was erected) by the mason Jālahṇa for the fame of *rāuta* Śri Sakaru, son of Śri Ānanda. (May) Fortune. The power of Sakaruka (may it increase).

tioned in the list of officials so often repeated in Gāhaḍavāla grants. This would suggest that they were vassals distinct from regular officials under the direct control of State, *Indian Feudalism*, pp. 174–5.

35 The text (with plate) of this inscription is given by Cunningham. He reads धिराज instead of बलि (line 1); विश्वधार for विविध (line 3) and पालक for राणक (line 5). Rakhal Das Banerji has also published the text and its impression, and my reading is in accordance with his translation has been followed.

6. Machchlishahr Copper-plate Inscription

Noticed by Vogel in *PRASI* (NC), 1907–8, p. 20, No. 87; edited by Pandit Hirananda in *EI*, X (1909–10), pp. 93–100; Reported in *Bhandarkar List*, No. 433. See also *ARIE*, 1959–60, List No. A 66; and remarks about the date by R.D. Banerji in *Proc. of ASB*, VII, p. 761. Preserved in Lucknow Provincial Museum.

The copper-plate was found in Kotwa village, Ghiswa pargana tehsil Machchlishahr distt. Jaunpur. The inscription consists of thirty-four lines written in verses in Sanskrit in Nagari script. The copper-plate measures $13^1/_2'' \times 10''$ and is engraved only on one side. As regards orthography, no distinction is made between the signs for *b* and *v*, and the dental and palatal sibilants are used indiscriminately. The seal bears in relief a Garuḍa and a conch and between these the legend: '*Śrimat Hariścandradevasya*'! There is an oblique crack of about four inches in the lower part. It is dated Sunday, the 15th tithi of the bright half of the month Pauṣa in the (Vikrama) Saṁvat 1253/Sunday 6 January A.D. 1197.

The first thirteen lines of the inscription are identical with the invocations in the grants of Jayaccandradeva of Kanauj.[36] Towards the end, the inscription has benedictive and imprecatory verses that also occur in other epigraphs.[37]

Lines 14 and 15 eulogize Hariścandradeva. The inscription goes on to recite that *Parambhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Paramamāheśvara, Aśvapati Gajapati, Narapati rājatryādhipati, vividha vidyā vicāra vācaspati*; Hariścandradeva (successor of PMP Jayacandradeva), while residing at Dhanaṁvakra, after having bathed in the Ganges at the bathing ghat named Cyavaneśvara,[38] granted the village Pamahai[39] together with its outlying hamlets[40] (सपाटक) to one Rāhahigukaya (?), son of *ṭhakkura* Madanu of Kaśyapa *gotra*, on the above mentioned date.

[36] Cf. *EI*, IV, pp. 120–9; *IA*, XV, p. 10, f; XVIII, pp. 129–43.

[37] The imprecatory verses e.g. षष्टि वर्ष सहस्त्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमि द ----- स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वायोहरेद्वसुंधरां स तिष्ठायां जायते कृमि are also found in the copper-plate inscription of Kumaon region. Cf. *JUPHS*, XV, pt. II, 1942, pp. 60–2.

[38] The places Dhanaṁvakra and Cyavaneśvara could not be identified.

[39] Hiranand says that Pamahai should be identified with Bambha village in Machchlishahr tehsil. *EI*, X, p. 94, fn. 5.

[40] *Pāṭaka* is a part of a village, a quarter, the outlying part of a village, a hamlet, often prefixed to the name of localities and modified to *vātaka*. Sircar, *Glossary*, p.242.

The record is of considerable importance in that it has added a new name to the list of the kings of Kannauj. Though it is known from the later grants that Hariścandra was the son of Jaiccandra, his name as a ruling chief of Kannauj is mentioned for the first time in this inscription, where he is given the same titles as those of his father and grandfather.[41]

The inscription also provides the genealogy of the Gāhaḍāvala rulers from Yaśovigraha to Harisacandradeva. Candradeva was the third ruler of this dynasty, reigning from 1089 to 1103.[42] This inscription tells us that Candradeva was the 'protector of the holy places, Kāśi, Kuśika, and Indrasthānīyaka'.[43] Kāśi is, of course, Varanasi; Kuśika is probably Kānyakubja or Kanauj; Uttarakośala is Ayodhya; and Indrasthānīyaka is Indraprastha or ancient Delhi.[44] The inscription also states that he conquered the territory of Kanauj (Gadhipura).[45] Madanpāla and Govindacandra also ruled over and annexed new kingdoms (verses 6–9). Vijayacandra, the son of Govindacandra, defeated the Hammira[46] chief in battle (v. 10). The title *Hammīra* (from *amīr*,) is used for a Muslim ruler who fought with Vijayacandradeva, and who might have been the late Ghaznavide ruler of Lahore, Khusrau Shāh or his successor Khusrau Malik.[47] The conflict with the Muslim ruler apparently took place some time before V.S. 1224 /A.D. 1168, when it is mentioned in the Kamauli inscription of Vijayacandradeva himself.[48]

Before the discovery of this grant, it was generally believed that the Gāhaḍavāla dynasty of Kannauj came to an end with the death of Jaiccandradeva in 1194. But it seems that Hariścandra succeeded to a part of his dominion and continued to reign for some time. Clearly, he inherited not only the name but also a part of the historical tradition of the dynasty. He apparently controlled parts of eastern U.P. where he made this grant six years after his father's death. The

[41] *IA*, XVIII, p. 130; *EI*, IV, p. 126; *EI*, X, p. 97; lines 16–20.

[42] Roma Niyogi, *The Gahadavala Dynasty* (Calcutta 1959), p. 43.

[43] Other inscriptions of his reign also give the same information. *EI*, IX, pp. 302–5, XIV, pp. 193–6.

[44] About Indraprastha see no. I, 10 Supra.

[45] Other copper-plate grants of Candradeva mention this conquest. *EI*, XIV, p. 193; Roma Niyogi op. cit., p. 49.

[46] For the word *Hammīra*, see no. I, 4 Supra.

[47] Roma Niyogi, op. cit., p. 93. Cf. R.S. Tripathi, *History of Kannauj*, p. 319; *DHNI*, I. p. 536.

[48] Roma Niyogi, op.cit., p. 93; *IA*, XVIII, pp. 130–3.

charter was written by *Mahākaṣapaṭalika*[49] the *ṭhakkura* Bhogāditya.

The inscription contains a list of different taxes, i.e. *bhāgabhoga*,[50] taxes on merchants (*pravaṇikara*), water tax, salt tax, tax on betel leaves. Such taxes are also mentioned in other land grants of the Gāhaḍavāla dynasty.[51] *Pravaṇikara* is mentioned in as many as nineteen out of twenty-one grants of this dynasty found at Kamauli; it is also mentioned in grants of the Kalachuri dynasty.[52] Modern scholars interpret this term in different ways. R.S. Tripathi suggests that *pravaṇikara* was either a tax on turnpikes, intended to preserve the peace of the village by discouraging large numbers of visitors, or a tax for road maintenance.[53] R. Niyogi has suggested that it was a tax for the service of the state guides posted in every village, whose duty was probably to escort and guide merchants from the interior of the country to the highways leading to the next village or town.[54] According to U.N. Ghoshal this was (to be) a tax on *pravaṇis* whom he describes as a class of merchants.[55] Lallanji Gopal accepted the suggestion made by U.N. Ghoshal that *pravaṇikara* was analogous to the toll or *śulka*, of technical literature and inscriptions.[56]

The water tax or *jalakara* is mentioned in a few grants of the Gāhaḍavāla dynasty. It is first recorded in the Gagha inscription of Govindacandra in V.S. 1199 /A.D.1143.[57] *Jalakara* is often mentioned in medieval documents. According to Wilson's *Glossary*, *Jalakara* is described as the profit or rent received from the lakes and ponds, a tract of land (country) or on an estate with fishing rights and the right to cultivate the beds if they become dry.[58] *Lavaṇakara* and *Parṇakara* are mentioned only in this inscription. Lallanji Gopal suggests that *lavaṇakara* was a tax on the private manufacture of salt which, from the list of rights transferred to the donee in the

[49] *Mahākasapaṭalika* was the designation of record-keeper and chief accountant. Cf. Sircar, *Epigraphy*, pp. 133, 150.

[50] For detail see introductory note.

[51] *IA*, XV, p. 12; *EI*, II, pp. 359–61.

[52] *EI*, IV, No. 11; XI, No. 14; *Corpus Inscription Indicarum*, edited by V. V. Mirasi, IV, pp. 324–31, 645–52.

[53] R.S. Tripathi, op.cit., p. 348.

[54] Roma Niyogi, op.cit., p. 176.

[55] U.N. Ghoshal, op.cit., p. 263.

[56] Lallanji Gopal, op.cit., p. 47.

[57] Edited by Barnett, *EI*, XIII, pp. 216–20; *IA*, XVII, pp. 20–1.

[58] H.H. Wilson, *A Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms*, pp. 280, 580.

Gāhaḍāvala grants is known to have been a state monopoly.[59] Kauṭilya states that salt was a source of revenue and *lavaṇādhyakṣa* was the officer who collected the *lavaṇabhāga* and *prakraya*.[60]

Parṇakara can be described as a tax on the collection of grass and wood.[61] In legal literature the king is entitled to take one-third, one-fifth, one seventh, one-tenth or one-twentieth from the collectors of grass and wood.[62]

Text: Plate VII.

१. औं अकुंठोत्कंठवैकुंठकंठपीठलुठत्करः।
[संरं]भ[: सु]र[तारं]भे स [श्रि]यः श्रेयसेस्तु वः॥ [१] [Anuṣṭubh]
आसीदशी व[त]द्युतिवंस(श)जात-
क्ष्मापालमालासु दिवं गतासु।
सा[क्षा]द्विवस्वानि[व] भूरिधा[म्ना]

२. नाम्ना यासो[वि]ग्रह इत्युदारः॥ [२] [Indravajrā]
त[त्सु]तोभून्महीचंद्र[:] चंद्रधामनिभं निजं।
येनापारमकूपारपारे व्यापारितं यशः॥ [३] [Anuṣṭubh]
तस्याभूत्तनयो नयैकरसिक[:] क्रांतद्विषन्मंडली

३. वि[ध्वस्तो]द्धतवीरयोधतिमिरः श्रीचंद्रदेवो नृपः।
येनोदारतरप्रतापस(श)मिताशेषप्रजोप[द्र]वं
श्रीमद्गाधिपुराधिराज्यमसमं दोर्व्विक्रमेणार्जितं॥ [४] [Śārdūlavikrīḍita]
तीर्थानि कासिकुसिको-

४. [त्त]रकोसलेंद्र-
स्था[नी]यकानि परिपालयताधिगम्य।
हेमात्मतुल्यमनिशं ददता द्विजे[भ्यो]
ये[न]ंकिता वसुम[ती] शत[श]स्तुलाभिः॥ [५] [Vasanatatilakā]
तस्यात्मजो मदनपाल इति क्षितीं[द्र]-
श्चू(चू)डामणिर्व्विजयते निजगो-

[59] Lallanji Gopal, op.cit., p. 47.
[60] *Arthaśāstra*, 2, 12, 28.
[61] Roma Niyogi, op.cit., p. 175.
[62] Śukra, *Sukranitisāra*, edited by Oppert (Madras 1882). English translation by B.K. Sarkar, *Sacred Books of the Hindus*, 2. pp. 119–20.

५. त्रचंद्रः ।

यस्याभिषेकलसो(शो)ल्लसितैः पयोभिः
प्रक्षालितं [कलि]रजः पटलं धरित्र्याः ॥ [६] [Vasantatilakā]
यस्यासीद्विजयप्रयाणसमये तुंगाचलोच्चैश्चल-
न्माद्यत्कुंभिपदक्रमासमभरभ्रस्य(श्य)-

६. न्महीमंडले ।

चूडारत्नविभिन्नतालुगलितस्त्यानाशृ(सृ)गुद्भासितः
शेषः पेषवसा(शा)दिव क्षरणे(ण)मसौ क्रोडे विलीनानः ॥ [७]
तस्मादजायत निजायतवाहुवल्लिवद्धा(बन्धा)- [Śārdūlavikrīḍita]

७. वरुद्ध[न]ववा(रा)ज्यागजो नर(रें)द्रः ।

[सां]द्रामृतद्रवमुचां प्रभवो गवां
यो गोविदचंद्र इति चंद्र इवाम्वुरासे(शे): ॥ [८] [Vasantatilakā]
न क[थ]मप्यलभन्त रणक्षमांस्तिसृषु दिक्षु गजानथ वज्रिणः ।
क–

८. कुभि पत्र(बभ्र)मुरभ्रमुवल्लभप्रतिभटा[इव]यस्य य(घ)टागजाः ॥ [९]
अजनि विजयचंद्रो नाम तस्मान्नरे(रें)द्रः [Durtabilambitā]
सुरपतिरिव भ(भू)भृत्पक्ष वि[च्छे]ददक्ष[:]।
भुवनदलनहेलाहर्म्म(र्म्य)हस्वी (म्मी)रना-

रो-

९. नय[न]जलदधाराधौतभूलोकतापः ॥ [१०] [Mālinī]
लोकत्रयाक्रमणकेलिविशृंखलांनि
[प्रख्या]तकीर्त्तिकविबर्ण्णितवैभवानि ।
यस्य त्रिविक्रमपदक्रमभांजि भान्ति
प्रो[ज्जृं]भय[न्ति] वलि-

राजभयं यसां(शां)सि ॥ [११] [Vasantatilakā]

१०. तस्माद-द्भुतविक्रमादथ जयच्चंद्राभिधानः पति-
र्भूपानामवतीरार्ण एष भुवनो[द्ध]ा[र]ाय नारायणः ।
द्वैधीभावमपास्य विग्रहरुचिं धिक्क(क्कृ)त्य सा(शा)न्तास(श)याः
सेवन्ते यमुदग्र-

११. वन्धनभयध्वंसार्थिनः पार्थिवाः ॥ [१२] [Śārdūlavikrīḍitā]
ग[च्छे]न्मू[र्च्छाम]तु[च्छां]न य[दि क]वलयेत्कू[र्म]पृष्ठाभिघात-
प्रत्यावृत्तं(त्त)श्रमार्त्तो नमदखिलफणास्वाम(श्वास)वात्यासह[श्रं](स्रं)।
उद्योगे यस्य धावद्धरणिधरधुंनीनिर्झ-

१२. रस्फारधारा-

भ्रस्य(श्य)द्दानद्विपालीवहुलभरगलद्धैर्यनु(मु)द्रः फणीन्द्रः ॥ [१३] [Sragdharā]
[यस्मिं]श्चलत्युदधिनेमि मही जया[र्थ]
माद्यत्करीन्द्र[गु]रुभार[नि]पीडितेव।
याति प्रजापतिपदं स(श)रणाथि(र्थि)-

१३. नी भू- [Vasantatilakā]

[स्त्व]गत्तुरं[ग]निवहोत्थरजश्च[लेन] ॥ [१४]
तस्मादाशी(सी)दसीमत्वरतुरगखुरक्षोदविक्षि[प्त]धूलि-
व्याप्त[क्ष्मा]चक्रवालक्रमकलितनभोरुद्धसूरप्रकास(श):।
सेनासं-

१४. भारसंपद्दर[वि]दलदिला दो – माना [नरें] द्र-
श्चं[द्रार्क] – स्स – – यि स्फुरदसम[य]शाः श्रीहरिश्चंद्रदेवः ॥ [१५]
येन प्रण(भा)[स]पतिन(ना) क्षितिपालमौलि- [Sragdharā]
रत्नप्रभारुचिरचारुपदां[वु]-

१५. जेन।

उ[ड्डं]डशीतकरमंडलपुडरीक-
[डिं]डीरपि [डमिव शुभ्रय]सो(शो) वितेने ॥ [१६] [Vasantātilakā]
सोयं सम[स्त]राजच[क्रमं]सेवितचरणः स च परमभट्टारकम[ह]ाराजाधिरा-
जपरमेस्व(श्व)रपरममा-

१६. हेस्व(श्व)रनिजभुजो-
पार्जित[श्री]कन्यकु[ब्ज]ाधिप[त्य]श्रीचंद्रदेवपा[द]ानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजा-
धिराजपरमेस्व(श्व)रप[र]ममाहेस्व(श्व)[र]श्रीमद[न]पालदेव[पा]दानुध्यात-
परमभट्टारकमहाराजा-

१७. धिराजपरमे[श्व]रपरममाहे[श्व]रा[श्व]-
पर्[त]गजपतिनरपतिराज[त्र]याधिपतिविवि[ध]विद्याविचारवाचस्पतिश्री[गो]वि-
दचंद्रदेवपादानुध्या[त]परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमे[श्वर]-

१८. परममाह[श्व]राश्वपतिगजपतिनरप[ति]राजत्रयाधि-
पतिविवि[ध]ि[व]द्याविचारवाचस्पतिश्रीविजयचंद्र[दे]वपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारक-
महाराजाधिराजपरमे[श्व]रपरममा-

१९. हे[श्वं]राभ्य(श्व)पतिगजपतिनरपति[राज]त्र-
याधिपतिविविधविद्याविचा[र]वाचस्पतिश्रीजयच्चंद्रदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकम-
हाराजाधिराजपर[मेश्व]रपरममाहे[श्व]रास्व(श्व)पति-

२०. गजपतिनरपतिराज[त्र]या-
धिपतिविविधविद्याविचा[र]वाचस्प[ति]श्रीम[त्]हरि[श्चंद्र]देवो विजयी ॥ [हा]
लपांगि [कअगहल] . . . सपाटक[प]महैग्रामनिवासिनो निखिलजनप-

२१. दानु[प]गतानपि
च राजराज्ञीयु[वं]राज[मं]त्रि[पुरो]हित[प्र]ती[हा]रसाम[न्त]सेनापतिभांडा-
गारिकाक्षपटलिकभिषम्नैमि[त्ति]कान्तःपुरिककरितुरगदूतपत्तनाकरस्थान[गो]कुला-
धिकारिपु-

२२. रुषानाज्य(ज्ञा)पयति [व]धियत्यादिशति च
विदितम[स्तु] भवतां य[थोप]रिलिखित[ग्र]ामः सजलस्थलः सलोहल-
वणाकरः सम[त्स्य]ाकरः सगर्त्तोव(ष)रः साम्रमधूकवनविटपवाटिकातृ-
[ण]यूति-

२३. गोचरपर्यन्तः सोद्धा(र्ध्वा)धः
चतुराघाटविस(शु)द्धः स्वसीमापर्यन्तः त्रिपंचाशताधिकद्वादशश-
तसंवत्सरे पौषमा[सि] पौर्[र्ण]मायां रविदिने अङ्केपि संवत(त्) १२५३ पौ[ष]
शुदि १५ रवौ अद्येह श्री-

२४. मतधनंवक्रसमावासे
च्यवनेस्व(श्व)रघट्टे गंगाया स्नात्या(त्वा) विधिवन्यं(न्मं)त्रदेवमुनि[मनु]ज[भू]
तग[णां]स्तर्प[यि]त्वा नि[खि]लपुत्ययसाभि[वृ]द्धये गोकर्णकुश[ल]तापूतकरत
लोदकमस्मा[भि]:

२५. कास्य(श्य)पगोत्राय
ठक्कुरसोपालपौत्राय ठक्कुरमदनूपुत्राय रा[ही]ही[य]काय आचंद्रा-
र्कं या[वच्छा]सनीकृत्य पि[तृ]पितामहोपार्जित तथा महारागी(ज्ञी)-
संनंडारीरतन्दकेनः संप्रति[गु]-

२६. पुत्रीकृत्य वृत्ति वहि कृ[त्य]
प्रदत्तो मत्वा यथादीयमानभागभोगकरप्रवणिकरजलकरलवणाक[र]प[र्णा]-
कर ---------- नियतानियतप्रभृतिसमस्तादा[या]नाज्ञा-
विधेयीभ-

२७. य दास्यथ ॥ भवन्ति चात्र श्लोकाः ॥
भूमि यः प्रतिगृ[ह्ण]ति [य]श्च भूमि [प्र]य[च्छ]ति ।
[उ]भौ तौ पुन्य(ण्य)क[र्माणौ] नियतं स्वर्ग[ग]ामिनौ ॥ [१७]
[Anuṣṭubh]

सं(शं)खंभ[द्रा]सनं छत्रं वरास्वा(श्वा) वरवारणा [१]
भूमिदाम(न)स्य

२८. चिन्हानि फलमेत[त्पु]रंदर॥ [१८] [Anuṣṭubh]
षष्टि(ष्टि) वर्षसहश्रा(स्रा)णि [स्वर्गे] ति[ष्ठ]ति भूमिदः।
आ[च्छे]त्ता चानु[मंता च ता]न्वे(न्ये)व नरके वसेत(त्)॥ [१९]
बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राज[भि]: सगरादिभिः। [Anuṣṭubh]
यस्य

२९. यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य त[दा] फलं॥ [२०] [Anuṣṭubh]
स्वदत्तां प[र]दत्तां वा यो हरेद्व[सुं]धरां [।]
स वि[ष्ठ]यां कृमि[र्भूत्वा] पितृभिः सह मज्जति॥ [२१] [Anuṣṭubh]
गामेकां स्वर्णमे[कं] [वा] भूम(मे)र[प्ये]कमंगुलं [।]
हरन्नक-

३०. मवा(मा)प्रोति यावदा[भू]तसंप्लवं। [।] [२२] [Anuṣṭubh]
तडाग(गा)नां सहस्रेण वाजपेयशतेन च।
गवां कोटिप्रदानेन भूमि(हर्त्ता न) सु(शु)[ध्य]ति॥ [२३] [Anuṣṭubh]
वारिही[ने]व्य(ष्व)रण्येषु सु(शु)ष्ककोटरवासिनः।
कृस्न(ष्ण)सर्पाश्च जायन्ते

३१. देवब्रह्म[स्व]हारिणः॥[२४] [Anuṣṭubh]
न विषं विषमित्या[हु]र्ब्रह्मा स्वं विषमुच्यते।
विषमेकाकिनं हन्ति ब्रह्मास्वं [पुत्रपोत्र]कं॥ [२५] [Anuṣṭubh]
सर्व्वानेतान् भाविनः पार्थिवेन्द्रा[न्]
भूयो भूयो याचते रान(म)[भ]द्रः।

३२. सा[मा]न्योयं धर्मसेर्तुनृपाणां
काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भि(द्भि):॥ [२६] [Śālinī]
यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्दैर्दाना[नि धर्मार्थ]यशस्कराणि।
निर्मा[ल्य]वान्तप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधुः पु-
नराददीत॥ [२७] [Indravajrā]

३३. वाताभ्रवि[भ्रम]मिदं वसु[धा]धिपत्य-
मापातमात्रसधुरा विषयोपभोगाः।
प्राणा[स्तृ]णा[ग्रज]लविन्दुसमा नराणां
धर्मः सखा परमहो परला(लो)क[या]ने॥ [२८] [Vasantatilakā]

३४. लिखितं चेदं [त]ाम्रपट्टकं महाक्षपट-
लिकठक्करश्रीभोगादित्यैरिति॥

Translation:

Oṁ

1. May Lakśmī's hand which is caressing, in the course of a turbulent sexual act, the neck of Viṣṇu whose ardour is undiminished, grant you happiness.

2. When a succession of kings had gone to heaven, there ruled a generous (king) by the name of Yaśovigraha, who was born in the solar race and who by his abundant lustre appeared directly like the sun.

3. His son was Machīcandra, who made his moon-lustre fame, go forth like a ship on the ocean.[63]

4. His son was King Candradeva, whose sole passion was statecraft (*naya*), who occupied enemy territories, who dispelled the darkness in the shape of impetuous brave soldiers (of the enemy), who through the prowess of his arms earned the incomparable kingdom of Gādhipura, where the revolt of the entire population was subdued by him through his generous valour.

5. This ruler reaching the holy places situated in Kāśī, Kuśika (?), Uttarakośala and Indraprastha gave to brāhmaṇs every day gold equal in weight to his person. Thus he marked the earth with hundreds of balances [to weigh his person against gold].

6. His son, Madanapāla by name, the crest-jewel of kings, the moon of his clan (*gotra*), is victorious. The waters shining in his coronation pitchers[64] have washed off the dust of the Kali age from the earth.

7. At the time of his triumphant marches, when the earth was slipping down because she was unable to bear the enormous burden, of the treading feet of the rutting elephants which moved above(her) like high mountains, the serpent Śeṣa (who holds the earth aloft on his thousand hoods), who was smeared (lit. shining) with blood oozing from his palates that

[63] Read *akūpārapota* for *pora*.

[64] The pitchers from which the consecrated water is poured over the king at the time of coronation.

were broken by (the pressure of) his crest-jewels(?), rested his hoods on his bosom for a moment as though (he was afraid of) being crushed.

8. To him was born as the moon to the ocean, Govindacandra, the king who with his arms resembling ropes made of strong creepers controlled the newly-acquired kingdom which was like an elephant; his speech was a stream of nectar.

9. (When) his herds of elephants moved in one direction like rivals to [Indra's elephant Airāvata] the beloved of Abhramu, they did not find—howsoever hard they tried—Indra's elephants capable of fighting in the three (other) directions.

10. To him was born a king called Vijayacandra, who was capable of (*dakṣa*) destroying (*viccheda*) the allies (*pakṣa*) of (enemy) kings (*bhūbhṛt*), just as Indra is capable (*dakṣa*) of cutting as under (*viccheda*) the wings (*pakṣa*) of the (fabulous flying) mountains (*bhūbhṛt*), and who (Indra), had washed off the heat of the terrestrial world with streams of water from the clouds in the shape of the eyes of the Hammīra women, when he was indulging in the sport of subduing the world (?).

11. His fame, which was unrestrained in the sport of occupying the three worlds, whose grandeur was described by poets of well-established renown, resembled the strides of Viṣṇu (Trivikrama) and thus heightened King Bali's fear.

12. Then from him, miraculous of prowess, descended the lord of kings named Jayaccandra, who was verily Nārāyaṇa, [who descended to the earth] for the upliftment of the world. The (enemy) kings, whose supplicants (?) were scattered by the terrible fear of being imprisoned, have abandoned duplicity[65], disregarded the (idea of) war, and served him with peaceful intentions.

13. During his expeditions, the great serpent (Seṣa), who was tired by the exertion . . . . . (?) . . . . . , whose stamp of courage has melted down because of the excessive weight of

[65] *dvaidhībhāva*, one of the six constituents of foreign policy. According to some authorities it means, keeping apparently friendly relations with the enemy.

the herds of elephants rushing like swelling streams of the mountain rivers, may perhaps experience a great swoon, the breaths from his drooping hoods producing thousands of tempestuous winds.

14. When he led an expedition to conquer the lands on the sea coast, the earth, as though crushed by the great[66] weight of rutting elephants, sought refuge in the abode of Prajāpati, in the guise of the dust raised by the army of horses (*tvaṅgat-turaṅga* ?).

15. From him issued Śrī Hariścandradeva, who obscured the sun's brilliance through the sky which was seized by the circle of earth that was filled by the dust raised by the pounding hoofs of his horses with limitless speed . . .

16. He, who is the lord of salutations, whose beautiful lotus-like feet reflected the brilliance of the gems in the kings' diadems, spread his pure fame as though it were a mass of high foam around the lotus flower (in the shape of ?) the moon's orb.

This king of such high qualities, whose feet were worshipped by the entire circle of kings (descended in the following manner).

Paramabhaṭṭāraka, *Mahārājādhirājaparameśvara*, *Paramamāheśvara*, who through [the strength of] his own arms obtained the sovereignty over Kānyakubja, Śrī Candradeva. His son [lit. meditating over his feet] . . . Śrī Madanapāladeva.

His son . . . . lord of horses, lord of elephants, lord of men, lord of the three types of kings (ruling respectively over, *jāṅgala* (desert lands), *anūpa* (marshy lands), *sādharāṇa* (ordinary regions), resembling the lord of speech while discussing the various branches of learning, Śrī Govindacandradeva.
His son . . . . Śrī Vijayacandradeva.
His son . . . . Śrī Jayaccandradeva.
His son . . . . Śrī Hariścandradeva. May he be victorious. He thus orders, instructs and commands . . . . (?) the residents of the village Pamahai and of the entire *janapada*, the royal queens (*rājarājñī*, or princes and princesses), the

[66] Read *puru* instead of *truru*?

heir-apparent (*yuvarāja*), the ministers, the priest, the chamberlain (*pratīhāra*), the feudatories (*sāmanta*), the chief of army (*senāpati*), the treasurer (*bhāṇḍāgārika*), the record-keeper (*akṣapaṭalika*), the physician (read *bhiṣag* for *bhig*), the astrologer (*naimittika*), the officers in charge of the harem, elephants, horses, ambassadors, emporiums (*paṭṭana*), mines (*ākarasthāna*) and cow-pens (*gokula*):

Let it be known to you that the above-mentioned village together with the reservoirs of water, mines of metal and salt, fishing places, fields producing (betel) leaves, trenches and barren lands, with mango and madhūka trees, forests, bushes, gardens and grass-lands, together with (the produce) from above and below (i.e., fruit and roots), up to its own boundaries, was granted by us on this day, Sunday, Pauṣa sudi 15, in the year v.s. 1253, after taking a bath in the Gaṅgā at the bathing place called Cyavaneśvara, after satisfying, according to proper ritual, the gods, ancestors and hosts of spirits, for the increase of . . . . . , by us whose palm holding water is purified by the touch of cow's ear and Kuśa grass, to Rāhāhīgūka (?), son of *ṭhakkura* Madanū, grandson of *ṭhakkura* Sopāla of the Kāśyapa *gotra*, Knowing this, pay obediently all taxes including the share of the produce (*bhāga*), periodical offerings (*bhoga*), tax on merchants (*pravaṇikara*), water tax, salt tax, tax on betel leaves . . . . . taxes that are previously fixed and those which are not.

Here are the (appropriate) verses (from the epics):

17. One who receives the (gift of) land and also one who gifts land, both perform (thereby) meritorious deeds and will surely go to heaven.

18. Conch, the throne called Bhadra, parasol, finest horses and best elephants, these are the symbols of the land-grant and also (its) result, O Indra.

19. One who gifts land resides in heaven for sixty thousand years. One who usurps and also one who approves this will reside in hell for the same number of years.

20. Land was gifted by several (kings) including Sāgara and others. Whomsoever whensoever the land belongs, to him then the merit (is due).

21. Whosoever usurps land gifted by himself or by others, he together with his ancestors, having been reborn as an insect in excreta, sinks down.

22. Usurping even a village or even one gold (coin) or even an inch of land, one remains in hell until all beings submerge (in the flood waters of universal destruction).

23. The land-usurper is purified neither by [digging] one thousand ponds, nor by [performing] one hundred horse-sacrifices, nor by gifting one crore of cows.

24. Those who usurp the property of temples or of brāhmaṇs will be reborn as black snakes living in the hollow of dry trees in waterless forests.

25. Poison, they say, is not (really) poison. The brāhmaṇ's property is said to be the (real) poison. Poison kills the eater alone; the brāhmaṇ's property (kills) the sons and grandsons as well.

26. Rāmacandra pleads again and again with all the future kings: 'This bridge of *dharma*[67] is common to all kings. You should protect it from time to time.'

27. These gifts, made long ago by kings, cause *dharma*, material well-being (*artha*) and fame, and are like cast-off offerings. Which virtuous man will indeed take them back!

28. The overlordship of the earth is (as permanent as) the grace of wind and cloud. Sensual pleasures are sweet only at the first moment. Human lives are like a droplet of water sticking to the tip of a blade of grass. But, friend, *dharma* is the best (means) for going to the next world.

29. (The text of) this copper plate was drafted by the chief record-keeper, *ṭhakkura* Bhogāditya.

[67] i.e. gift of land for crossing the other world.

7. Kalinjar Stone Inscription

First published in *JASB* XVII, 1848, pp. 313–17, as an appendix to Maisey's account of the antiquities of Kalinjar. Noticed by Cunningham, *ASR*, XXI, pp. 37–8. The first five lines are given as a specimen by Lt. Sate in *JASB*, VI, p. 665, with plate XXXII.

This inscription was found inside the temple of Nilakantha at Kalinjar, incised on a large black stone. It consists of thirty-two lines in Sanskrit in Nagari script. Dated according to Maisey in Samvat year 1298, of the month Kārtika on the 10th day of the waxing moon on Monday/8 October A.D. 1241. But Kielhorn has given the correct date which is Monday, the 10th Kārtika Sudi of V. Samvat 1258/8 October A.D. 1201.[68] The Candella ruler Paramarddi, mentioned in this inscription, could not have been alive in A.D. 1241.

The first twenty-four lines of this inscription are of no historical importance and consist of a eulogistic address to Śiva and Pārvatī in the usual erotic style of the period. The remaining portions are devoted to vague praises of Paramarddi. In line 27 the prince is described as Daśārṇādhināṭha (the King of Daśārṇa),[69] and also called 'a guide' in the mysteries of amorous and heroic sentiments in line 28, *srṅgāra-vīravratācārya*).

Ray suggests that the title, Daśārṇādhipati, given to Paramarddi in the inscription is not an exaggeration and that he had probably recovered most of the lost territories by that time.[70]

The inscription claims that Paramarddi himself composed, with his innate faith, this eulogy for Purārī (*Śiva*). It was written and inscribed by Padma (claiming to be a favourite of King Paramarddi) and his younger brother Deoka.

Unfortunately, the text is illegible in many places. I copied the text directly from the inscription. The language is often ungrammaticál, and the gaps caused by defaced words prevent restoration of the original sentences. However, since the text consists of an eulogy of Śiva with a string of adjectives and exaggerated statements, not much of substance appears to be lost.

[68] *IA*, XIX, p. 354, No. 152.

[69] According to H.C. Ray that Daśārṇa of this inscription should be taken as Western Daśarṇa, which is identified with Eastern Malwa (capital Bhilsa); (See Dey, *GDI*, p. 54). It was from this city that the Augasi grant of his father was issued. His Semra grant (*EI*, IV, pp. 153–90) shows that he held territory close to Eastern Malwa. *DHNI*, II, 719, fn. 1.

[70] *DHNI*, II, p. 720; Bose, op.cit., p. 95.

Text:

नमः शिवाय। तत्पूर्व्वे नीविमोक्षे श्रवणकुवलेयनाश्रु निर्व्वाप्य
दीपं चूडा चन्द्र प्रकाशं प्रसर विधुरया शैलभर्त्तुर्दुहित्रा ॥
ध्वान्तभ्रान्त्या भजन्त्या नव घन पटल श्यामलं कण्टकाण्डं
दत्ताश्लेष प्रमोदः प्रगुणयतु मुदं मेदुरामीश्वरो वः ॥१॥ [Sragdharā]

देहार्द्धनद्धकान्ता कुचकुसुमयो भालनेत्रानलार्च्चिपीनोष्मा मौलि-
खेलन्मुखर सुर नदी नीर रम्यो जगन्ति। स्फीतोत्तंसेन्दु-
कान्तिद्विर्रदट्टतिदृढाच्छादन व्यक्त शीतः शंभुर्भूषास्थि-
कुन्द प्रकर परिवृत्तः पातु सर्व्वर्त्तु मूर्त्तिः ॥२॥ [Sragdharā]

देवेद्यूतजितं प्रयाचितं पणं देवी दिशत्युत्तरं न स्वामीति
निगद्य कल्पितरूषः श्रान्ता स्वकान्ता सखीः। हारभ्रान्ति-
हठावकृष्टफणभृत फूत्कार दूर द्रुताः प्रेक्ष्यालीक समाधिभेदि
हसितं कुर्व्वन्हरः पातु वः ॥३॥ [Śārdūlavikrīḍita]

दास्येऽहं परिरम्भणानि कितवद्यूते जितानि त्वया मिथ्यौत-
सुक्य मिदं यतः शतमहोरात्राणितत्रावधिः। इत्युक्तः शिवया
निशा दिवस कृज्ज्योतिर्म्मयाक्षिद्वयद्रागुन्मेष निमेष कोटि
पटल व्यग्रो हरः पातु वः ॥४॥ [Śārdulaviskrīḍita]

चिन्तयन्यनुदिनं ध्यानापदेशादयं
येनामुं मनुयोप्यना दिनि धनं ध्यायन्ति धौतस्पृहाः। इत्यङ्क्का-
त्स्वकरे हृते गिरिजया या तत्र पद्मासना-प्येतन्काष्टातटकर-
टिघटोत्कृत्त कृत्तिप्रतानः प्रत्यग्रप्रच्छ दास्य (?) कपटमृगपतिस्फार
वर्म्मोत्कवेल गीर्व्वाणोद्दण्ड चण्ड प्रचयति कःकालि कायाः भ्रश्यद्भूतल-
मुल्लसत्तनु तुला कोटि ध्वनि प्रस्फुरत्तारागुच्छमतुच्छ कंकण मणि
ज्योतिर्वृतेन्द्रायुधं। भीमभ्रमवितत जटादण्डचण्डाभि धातक्षुम्यद्दिक्कुंभि
कंठध्वनितविरचतोत्ताल गीतप्रकाशः। पादप्रान्त प्रहार प्रचलित
वसुधा गोलत्पदाठ्र्य व्यतिकरदलिते भूतले भंगदुस्थं संप्राप्ते दिक्पतीनां
भुजवन पवनोद्वासिते सत्यशून्यं।
स्वस्तस्वर्गापगार्द्रोभवति ज्वालमालाक्षिवह्नि पुलष्ट (प्रनष्ट) ब्रह्मांड
भाण्डद्रव विकट जटापिगलिम्न* पुरारेः। भ्राम्यद्वाह हरतु
भवभयं ताण्डवाडम्वरं वः ॥ पादान्तर्लक्ष्य लेखा निभृत वसुमती
चक्रवाल प्रतिष्ठं, नष्टाष्टाशाविभाग प्रसर गुरु भुजाजाल लीलायिते-
वपूर्वः भै प्रलयमहमहाभैरवं भैरवस्य, इन्दुर्ज्जज्जरिताः कपाल कुहर
क्रोडेकूहू कारिणः, प्रोद्भूताः फणमण्डले फणि पतेरायामिभिः,
फूत्कृति ध्वस्ता क्षेन्दवः श्रेलष्यातांण्डव लालसालिचलितावद्धा-

मरि, ---- चूडा दृढ वद्ध पन्नगपति श्वासानिलापूरणै, र्गज्र्जन्ती तिमिर
प्रसार ---------- क्षुम्यान्नम्बुस्वच्छ निनदः प्रयातिविरतिन्नद्या-
पिसन्नामिव, स्नातस्यानद्धशत्रोः क्षरदमरधुनी वीचिभि र्मोलिलोलः,
कण्ठ ------- दत्ति दम्यत्रि भुवनहविषाहन्तु होमस्तमो, नः स्वल्पायो
मान भागः क्षय समय– जविव्यंडपिण्डे चण्डी भर्त्तुर्व्वुभुक्षोः
कवल कवलः ना पूर्व्व जिह्वाविलासा; कृत्वापालन पूर्व क्रम क्रीडि-
तानि ---------- पमितर व्यासलिप्ताविलक्षो वैलक्षयं वः क्षिणोतु ----------
कुमुच्युतयुधि वसुधाघात सप्रति–करजां
व्यसदा भूषिताःपान्तुत्वानवनीर दच्छ विमुच
श्रीकंठ कंठा शवः दोर्दण्ड — वलये हर्ष निष्यंदि
टृक्कोभद्रचन्द्रार्ध मौलेः प्रगुणयतु पर ब्रह्म लग्नः;
समाधिः परिचयं यं विपाकेन शून्यं निश्लिष्यन्नी—
श्वराङ्केऽप्युपन यतु स वः, शाश्वतं मोदमीशः
प्राणति सर्व्वेसुराः किं चामु रजनीषु राहूर
सुरः स्वैरं समाक्रमति, पेस्यफिर दी – शाकं
शून्यपदे निरस्यति — यमुंच तिक्षिप्यत्यम्बधि श्रुक्ति
संपुट कुटी क्रोडे तथान्यं मुज्हः देवस्यास्य मुखाम्बुज-
द्यतिलवप्र — भवि वाछ्यां सरसिज श्रेणीभिरन्त —
र्जलं तत्कंठावधि मग्नपीनतनुभिस्तीव्रं तपस्तप्यते
काष्टा कुंजर कुंभसंनिधिमिलत् प्रौढ प्रतापा नलं
साक्षी विरोधिरान् तद्धितम्। यः पीत्वा मधुप-
र्क्कमुज्जवल यशः प्रत्यर्थि पृथ्वी भुजा, निः प्रत्यूहम-
हीकर ग्रह विधि चक्रे नृपाणां वरः। केचिद्वद्धाः
सहेलं निज भवनगता मोचिताः केऽपि केचिद्गेहा-
द्गेहान्तराणि क्षणमिव गमितः केऽपि नीता
प्रमोदं। बालापत्याश्च केचित् प्रतिपददययाप्राण
व प्राश्रयोद्गा क्षौणीनाथस्य यस्योन्नत भुज-
परिधेनारयः सारश्च। दाडी वक्त्रं निचम्बत्स
पदि विकर्षन् कुन्तलं, कुन्त लीना, माधुन्वन्नंग
नारी कुच कलशलसच्चारुश्चीराम्बराणि।
खेलत् कान्ता श्रय जल कणिका दूषयल्ली-
लयैव देवः क्रीडन्निवास्ते मलय मरूदिव श्री
दशार्णाधिनाथः मेदिन्यां विषमेषुरित्यनु
दिन शृंगार वीरव्रताचार्यः श्रीपरमद्धिदेव

नृपतिः कैनमि न स्तूयेत। श्य्यायां चरणां-
गणे च पतिताः कामिन्यश्च विरोधिनश्च
शतशोयेनाभुना खंडिताः। आकाश प्रसर
प्रसर्य्यत दिशस्तवं पृथ्वि पृथ्वी भव प्रत्यक्षी
कृत मादिरा जयशसां युष्माभिरूज्जमितं।

प्रक्षेध्वं परमर्दि पार्थिवयशोराशे र्विकाशो-
दयाद्वीजोच्छा स विदीर्णदाडिममिव
ब्रह्माण्डमारोहति। चिन्तामणिर्यदिशिला
न किलाभविष्यन्मन्येनचेत्याशुरसा वपि काम-
धेनुः। वक्षो दलिष्यदुभयोरपि लज्जयास्मि,
वज्छाधिकं वितरति द्रविणं नरेशे। निसर्ग
भक्तया विदधे परमर्दिनरेश्वरः, सोऽयमेतां
निरस्तारिः पुरारि चरणस्तुतिम्। दाक्षि-
ण्यतो मम गुण ग्रहणं न कार्य्यमाभ्यर्याः कदाचिदपि
दोषपदे भवद्भिः कृत्यं तदेव पुनरत्र-
विचिन्तयन्तु येनैव संभवति चेतसि
वः प्रतीतिः॥ वीर श्री परमर्दि पार्थिव
पतेरस्य प्रसादैकभूः पौत्रः सद्गुणशि-
ल्पिनोऽनृणसुतः पद्माभिधानः सुधीः।
देऊकेन सहानुजेन तिलकः शिल्प-
क्रियाशालिनामालिख्य स्वयंभुल्लिलेख गिरिजा
भर्त्तुः प्रशस्तिं कृती। अचरमचरमाद्रिव्या-
जवक्षो जलक्ष्मी भिलद्रुडुभयहारं धारयं-
त्यम्बरान्तम्। फणिपतिफणशय्या
शायिनी यावदुर्व्वोकृतिरिह परमर्द्दिक्ष्मा-
पतेस्तावदस्तु। संवत १२९८ कार्तिक
श्रुदि (सुदी) १० सोमे मंगल महाश्री।

Translation:

1. Salute to Śiva! May Īśvara who experienced the delight of an embrace from Pārvatī, multiply your excessive delight; she who when the knot of her garment was undone (by Śiva) extinguished the lamp at once with the lotus which she wore in her ear, but becoming anxious because of the spreading of light of the moon in Śiva's locks, took recourse to the dark neck of Śiva which was like the formation of new clouds, thinking that it was the darkness.

2. Śiva, who contains all the seasons—such aś the spring season suggested through the flower-like breasts of the lovely women joined to half of his body, (Śiva) containing advanced summer in the shape of the flames of the third eye on his forehead, he is beautified with the noisy water of the Ganges who is sporting on his head (thus the rainy season) who possesses the lustre of the full moon worn as a crest-jewel thus displaying (autumn) who is displaying winter (Śiśira) by covering himself tightly with elephant skin and who is surrounded by heaps of jasmine—like the bones that were his ornaments (suggesting Hemanta)—May he protect us.

3. Maid asked for the stake lost in the game of dice from the lord, but the lady answers, saying; that you are not the master! The lady's maid, who was tired, feigned anger (they tried to snatch the necklace from Śiva, but in reality they were snatching the snakes). Śiva, seeing that maids (were) running (on) away because of the hissing produced by snakes which were snatched under the wrong notion that they were necklaces, laughed a laughter which interrupted his marked *smādhi*. May (such) Śiva protect you.

4. O, gambler I shall give you the embrace won in the dice game, you are being patient in vain because there is a limit of a hundred days and nights (to pay the debt), Thus spoken to, Śiva became engaged in opening and closing his two eyes which contain the light that makes the day and the night: May (such) Śiva protect you.

(The text of the middle portion of the inscription is not clear, and its translation is omitted here)

. . . . He, the greatest of Kings, having drunk, like draughts of honey and curds, the shining fame of king, his enemy

introduced a rule for collecting the land revenue without resistance from any foe (or he became the husband of the earth, which without resistance completed the ceremony of marriage).

Some, having been easily made prisoners and kept in their own houses, were afterwards released. In a moment he made some of them wander from house to house, he made some enjoy happiness; some who were the fathers of young children, with unceasing compassion for them, were seeking safety for their lives within the walls (of some castle) of the long arms of this king, his enemies were afraid (?) as of their fatal enemy.

The Daśāraṇa, like wind of the Malaya mountain, kisses sportively the lips of the maidens, red like the pomegranate, seizes the women of Kuntalā by their beautiful tresses, removes the garments that shine brightly on the high bosoms of the maidens of Aṅga, and easily dries the perspirations occasioned by sport from the brows of the fair. By whom was not the king Paramarddideva esteemed? He was the god with the uneven arrows upon the earth, like a spiritual guide in the mysteries of love. Hundreds of maidens who approached his bed and hundreds of foes who fell at his feet, were rejected by him.

Thou firmament spread out, and the quarters of the world, proceed and thou earth enlarge! Who have witnessed the widespread fame of former kings, now behold the rising glory of the fame of king Paramarddi, which, like a pomegranate bursting by the swelling of its seeds, extends over the world. Seeing the gifts of this king, who gives even more than is requested; and the hearts of the divine jewel and heavenly cow would have burst with shame if the former had not been a stone and the latter an animal.

The king Paramarddi, having conquered his enemies, himself composed with his innate faith this eulogy of Purārī (Śiva)! O, kind sins do not by any means enumerate my good qualities instead of faults. . . . .

The able Padma, the favourite of the valiant king Paramarddi, the grandson of an eminent artist, the son of Aṛiṇa, and superior to all artists, has, in company with Deoka his

younger brother drawn (the letters fixed inks or paint on the stone) and engraved this praise of the husband of Girijā.

As long as earth, clad in the garment of the atmosphere which is adorned with the garland of stars, joining like two resplendent breasts, the eastern and western mountains as long as the earth rests upon the bed of the hoods of the serpent king, so long let this work of the king Paramarddi endure!

Dated Monday the Kārttika Sudi Samvat 1298. May prosperity and success attend.

8. Stone Inscription of Ajayagaḍh Fort

Noticed by Cunningham, *ASR*, 1883–4, XXI, p. 51, plate d, XII. Present whereabouts not known.

This inscription is engraved on the outside tank of Patāl-Sar at Ajayagaḍh fort, and has six lines in Sanskrit in Nagari Script. It is dated 1269 Samvat, Saturday of the waxing moon of the month Phālguna/16 February A.D. 1213.

Text:

१. औ संवत् १२६९ फाल्गुन वदि (?) शनौ राज श्री त्रैलोक्य व-
२. र्म्म देव विजयराज्ये

(The rest of the text is not legible.)

Translation:

Oṁ! on the Samvat year 1269, on Saturday of the waxing moon of the Phālguna, during the reign of Trailokyavarmadeva' . . . . .

Thus we have only the date and the name of the king. Trailokyavarman was the seventieth ruler of Candella dynasty. He succeeded Paramarddi and ruled from A.D. 1203 to 1250.[71]

[71] N. S. Bose, op.cit., p. 99.

9. Jaunpur Brick Inscription

Reported in *Bhandarkar's List*, No. 468; Transcribed by Hiranand Pandit, translated by James Ballantyne, *JASB*, XIX, (Calcutta 1850), pp. 454–6. Edited by V.S. Agarwala in *JUPHS*, XVIII (Lucknow 1945), pt. II, pp. 196–201. Its present whereabouts are not known. No impression or photocopy of the inscription has been published. Its significance is discussed in R.S. Sharma, *Indian Feudalism*, pp. 170–1.

Engraved on a large brick measuring 1′–3″ by 1–0″ and 3″ in thickness, this inscription was found in about 1850 at Mai (Mayunagari), a small village in the Jaunpur dist., 12 miles north-west from the district head quarters. It is written in Sanskrit mixed with the local dialect in Nagari script.

As regards orthography, in the beginning an auspicious term *svasti* is written as *sasti*, and the space dandas are wrongly placed. It is dated Sunday, the 6th day of the bright half of Āṣāḍha, in V. Samvat 1273/Sunday 11 June A.D. 1217.

The inscription relates to money transactions and a mortgage incurred against a loan. The uhit of money used is *Shad-boddika drammā*.

In the text *rā* is used as an abbreviation of *rāuta*[72]; R. S. Sharma's assumption that *rā* represents *rāṇaka* may be responsible for his neglect of the full significance of the inscription.[73] It may be mentioned that in the Mahoba copper-plate inscription,[74] both the abbreviation and the full word, *rāuta* appear, so that there should be little doubt on the matter.

It is widely recognized that *rāwats* or *rāutas* were not only warriors but also had some connexion with land. Thus the *Lekhapaddhati* shows how the *rājaputras* (= *rāutas*) sought land in return for which they undertook to supply troops to their overlords, the *rāṇakas*.[75] In the present inscription, *rāuta* appears clearly as a magnate with money who mortgages the land against a loan. The *rāṇaka* who stood as surety is obviously the principal officer. Not only the creditors and the debtor, but four out of five witnesses are *rā* or *rāutas*.

[72] Sircar, *Glossary*, p. 269.
[73] Sharma, *Indian Feudalism*, p. 170.
[74] See Inscription no. II. 11.
[75] *Lekhapaddhati*, edited by Dalal and G.K. Shrigondekar, *GOS*, (Baroda 1925), XIX, pp. 7, 9; Sharma *Indian Feudalism*, pp. 200–01.

Text: (as read by V.S. Agarwala)

सस्ति[76] सम्वत् १२७३ आषाढ़ सुदि ६ खो अद्येह मयूनगर्य्या धनिकौ नाम्ना मतौ। रा श्री ब्रह्मो रा श्री महादित्यौ। रा डोविसुतौ स्वधनं प्रयुञ्जजाते। अत-स्सकाशाद्धारणिको नाम्नामतः। रा गंग देवो राधानु सुत षद्वबोद्दिक द्रम्म सहस्त्र द्वय सार्द्धशत द्वयं गृहरणत्युत्द्धारेणाकके वि० द्र २२५० अमीषां द्रम्माणां विश्वासर्थं च प्रवापिणी स्वकपट्टिका बन्धके प्रदत्ता॥ अस्मिन पत्रे चोद्धारणिक हस्तेन स्वमत मारोपयति मतं मम। अत्राप्तो राणक श्री वाघदेवः॥ राजोपरोहण रा देवादित्य रा धौरि रा कुमन पाल रा विलास रा प्रजयन एते साक्षिणाः कृता पूताश्च। लिखितं चेदमुभयानुमतेन ढिवा श्री साढेलेन ढिवा हाट पुत्रेण दिग्धाक्षरम् विवृताक्षर वा ततोपि प्रमाणमतिः॥

Translation:[77]

Hail. In the year Samvat 1273, on Sunday, the 6th of the bright half of Āṣāḍha, this day, here in the city of Mayunagari the two creditors,[78] known by the names of *rā* Śrī Brahmho and *rā* Śrī Mahāditya, the two sons of *rā* Dovi, are investing their own money.

The borrower, known by the name of *rā* Gaṅgadeva, son of *rā* Dhanu, takes a loan of two thousand two hundred and fifty *Shad-bodika drammās*[79] — in figures *drā* 2,250 — and as security for these *drammās* he gives in pledge the cultivated land which is his own share, and on this deed by his own hand, the borrower places his assent thus this is my agreement.

The surety in this case is *rāṇaka* Śri Vāghadeva, subject to such binding as enforced by the king. *Rā* Devāditya, *rā* Dhauri, *rā* Kumanpāla, *rā* Vilāsa and *rā* Prajayan—these are made witnesses and (thus the agreement is) sanctified. And this is written with the consent of both parties, by Ḍhivā, Śrī Sāḍhela, son of Ḍhivā Hāṭa. If the letters become indistinct, the matter is still valid.

[76] Read स्वस्ति

[77] V.S. Agarawal's translation has been followed.

[78] The term *dhaniko* has been translated by V.S. Agarawal as *creditors* and James Ballantyne as *bankers*.

[79] According to Cunningham the *drammā* which contained *6 boddikas*, was the same as Greek *drachma* of 672 grams of full weight, while the *boddikas* was the name of a quarter *paṇa* or *padika* of Silver = 11.2 grams exactly the same as Greek *obolus* (Cf. Cunningham, *Coins of Medieval India*, p. 50); *ASI*, XI, p. 176.

10. Rock Inscription at Charkhari Tehsil
(Hammirpur district)

Reported in *ARIE*, (Delhi 1967–8) 1964–5, List No. C 2205. Text not available.

This inscription was found on a rock near the Hanuman temple situated on the top of the hill in the east of the Ratan Sagar tank in Charkhari Tehsil of Hammirpur district. It consists of three lines in Sanskrit and the local dialect. Dated V.S. 1278 Kārttik Sudi 8 Monday/25 October A.D. 1221. This is a damaged record and reported by only names the village Digma, which could not be identified.

11. Mahoba Fort Copper-Plate Inscription

Reported by Hirananda Shastri in *Catalogue of Lucknow Museum*, (Allahabad 1915), pp. 37–8, No. E 58. It was forwarded to the Museum by the Collector of Hammirpur district in 1898. *ARIE*, 1962–3, List No. A 51, A 52, preserved at Lucknow State Museum. The text is printed here for the first time.

The plate, found at Mahoba fort, is engraved on both sides, and measures 2" × 8" × 8". The inscription is written rather carelessly in Sanskrit in Nagari script. The stops (space dandās) are not systematically shown. The plate is damaged at the top as well as at the bottom. In all there are twenty lines, twelve on one side and eight on the other.

As regards the orthography, the palatal *ś* is replaced by the dental sibilant *s*; *ṣ* is used for *kha* and the first cerebral consonant *ṭ* is repeatedly indicated by the third cerebral consonant *ḍ*.

The obverse side of the copper-plate inscription written by Pandit Daduk, begins with the invocation 'Oṁ Namaḥ', and is dated, Tuesday the 11th day of the bright half of Caitra, Samvat 1283/30 March A.D. 1227. Sulṭān Shamsuddīn (Parambhaṭṭāraka Śrīmaṭ Suratrāṇa Samastadīn) is said to have then been encamped at Badaun (Vodamyutā). This is the famous Sulṭān of Delhi, Shamsuddīn Iltutmish, who ruled from 1210 to 1236. Cāce, the creditor bearing the title of *rā* (*rāuta*) was the resident of Kasrak. He belonged to the Vāchhil *gotra* and was the son of *rāuta* Pāsala, an inhabitant of Kaṁdhaḍā village. He advanced his own money,

but the amount, curiously enough, is not mentioned. Three brāhmaṇs of the Bhāradavāja *gotra*, apparently the borrowers, collectively executed a deed (*Guḍāṁta patra*) concerning four villages in Nigohi *pratigaṇaka* namely Ikaḍāmvo, Khabelī Ṣeriā and Ḍhuleli. They also pledged to pay *vimśopakas* in addition to *ṣaṭṭraṁsatyādaya*. There follows a description of the boundaries of the four villages, but these lines are not legible. The 'mahājan' of Kasrak and the 'Bhaṭṭa' of Nigohi are made witnesses.

The reverse of the plate begins with the invocation 'Siddhi'. The date is Tuesday, 13th Caitra Sudi, Samvat 1290/14 March A.D. 1234. The name of the king is not clear as the letters are damaged. It records that the same *rāuta* Cāce, son of *rāuta* Pāsala, inhabitant of Kaṁdhaḍā village, advanced his own money. Four people belonging to the Garg *gotra* executed a *Guḍāṁta patra*. In this deed three villages are named: Unā, Salelī and Ḍhalahalā. In addition payment is to be made in *Vimśopakas* and *ṣaṭṭraṁsatyādaya*. This record is followed by a number of endorsements in which the names of debtors or their sons (with father's names), the number of *viṁśopakas* and *ṣaṭṭraṁsa* or *ṣaṭṭaṁsatya* (apparently abbreviations of *ṣaṭṭraṁsatyādaya*) to be paid, and the year of the transactions are recorded. The years are Samvat 1298, 1299, 1300, 1302, 1307 and A.D. 1241, 1242, 1243, 1245, 1250.

It is then stated that in the Samvat year 1339/A.D. 1282, a son of one of the executors of the *Guḍāṁta patra* executed a fresh *Guḍāṁta patra* in regard to the three villages mentioned and the number of *Viṁśopakas*. Next, the boundaries of the villages are recorded, but apart from the name of a river (*nadī*), nothing else is legible. It was written by Pandit Kuladhara.

Kasrak and Nigohi are mentioned for the first time in the present inscription. The reference to Kasrak is very interesting because it helps us to identify a place mentioned in Minhāj Sirāj's *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī* and Baranī's *Tārīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*. Minhāj says of a slave officer of Iltutmish that 'Kasrak with the office of the Chief Justiciary, was given him in fief, and after two years, he again obtained Baran; and, up to the present time, it is in his charge.'[80] Raverty, the erudite translator of Minhāj, admitted his inability to 'find this place.'[81] In the *Tārīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, Baranī twice mentions Kasrak (which the printed edition spells Kharak and Karak). The first

[80] *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī*, tr. Raverty, II, p. 791.
[81] Ibid., p. 791, fn. 1.

reference to areas where 'Alāuddīn Khaljī's revenue measures were enforced — 'all the villages around the capital, the town and districts in the Duab, from Biyanah to Jhayin, from Palam to Deopalpur, and Luhur, all the territories of Samanah and Sunnam, from Rewari to Nagor from Karah to Kanodi and Amrohah, Afghanpur, and Kabar, from Dabhai to Badaon and Kharak, and Koelah the whole of Katehar — until he made all these places, with regard to the payment of revenue'.[82]

Again after a successful campaign against the Mongols, 'Alāuddīn Khaljī assigned several places to different Maliks and slaves, namely, '. . . Chittor to Malik Abu Mohammad, Chanderi and Irij to Malik Tomar, Badaun, Koel and Karak (=Kasrak) to Malik Dinar Shāhnapil and Awadh to. . . .'[83] Kharak, Karak or Kasrak has also not been successfully identified by Baranī's translators and interpreters.[84]

It is evident that both the inscriptions, especially Baranī's *Tārīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhi*, treats Kasrak as a place close to Badaun. What this inscription does is to establish the spelling Kasrak beyond dispute and thus enables it to be identified with Kasrak, a village in *parganā* Miranpur Katra in Tilhar tehsil in Shahjahanpur district.[85]

Nigohi (mentioned in the inscription) is a *parganā* in the north-east of Tilhar tehsil in the same district.[86]

The area involved is thus Katehar, which bordered upon Badaun, and which was largely *mawās* or rebellious during the thirteenth century.[87] However Kasrak, as it is mentioned as an administrative centre, was probably under the stable control of the Sulṭān's government.

The term *pratigaṇaka*[88] in relation to Kasrak and Nigohi or *pratigaṇa* in relation to Indraprastha (see nos. I, 10, 11) is probably the same as *pratijāgaraṇaka. Pratijāgaraṇaka* was used for a territorial unit in the Paramara inscriptions of the twelfth to the four-

[82] Tr. A.R. Fuller, *The Reign of Alauddin Khilji*, pp. 78–9.

[83] Cf. Athar Abbas Rizvi, *Khalji Kālīn Bhārat*, pp. 89–90.

[84] Neither S.H. Hodivala in *Studies in Indo Muslim History*; nor K. S. Lal in *History of Khaljis* have identified this place.

[85] Cf. Atkinson, op.cit., IX, pt. I (map of district).

[86] Ibid., p. 180.

[87] *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī*, tr. Raverty, I, pp. 663, 698; Elliot and Dowson, III, pp. 105–6.

[88] The term *pratigaṇa* means a sub-division of district same as *pratijāgaranaka*. Sircar, *Glossary*, p. 259; William Monier's *Sanskrit English Dictionary*, *s.v.*

teenth centuries.[89] The Gāhaḍavāla and Candella land grants invariably use the terms *maṅḍala* and *paṭṭalā* for a territorial unit,[90] and apart from the present inscription, no other inscription from Uttar Pradesh before the fourteenth century uses the term *pratigaṇaka.* The term *parganā* of which *pratigaṇaka* or *pratigaṇa* seems to be the ancestor appears in a Persian inscription of A.D. 1249 at Munk.[91] In Persian literary sources it is used for the first time in 'Isāmī's *Futūḥ-us Salātīn* (1350), once with reference to Delhi and the second time in the context of the Deccan[92] and later on in Afif's *Tārīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī* in the latter half of the fourteenth century.[93] Rather surprisingly it is absent in Baranī's *Tārīkh-i Firūz Shāhī.* Apparently the term came into wider use in the Delhi Sultanate only after the middle of the fourteenth century.

The inscription tells us that the creditor belonged to the Vāchchil *gotra* and borrowers belonged to Bhāradāvaja and Garg *gotras.*[94] The term Vāchchil may also be derived from Vatsa, which is an important *gotra.* The Bāchchils are a Rajput sect of the Sombaṅśi stock. They are found in the districts of Badaun and Shahjahanpur.[95] In Shahjahanpur they trace their emigration to the time of Rājā Jayaccandra of Kanauj.[96] Cunningham believes that Rājā Vīravarman of the Chhandu race, mentioned in the inscription (Samvat 1049) of Dewal of Pilibhit district, was a descendant of the Bāchchal Rajput, Rājā Ven.[97] This ascription is rather weak, since no mention is made of the Bāchchil *gotra* in that inscription. In the *Ā'īn-i Akbarī*, the Bāchchil Rajputs are also referred to as the zamindars of Kant Gola (Sarkar Badaun) and Khairabad (adjoining Sarkar of Badaun).[98] The present inscription is the first historical record in which this clan is mentioned.

[89] *DHNI*, II, pp. 882, 892, 896–7.

[90] Sharma, *Indian Feudalism*, p. 79; Roma Niyogi, op. cit., pp. 127–4; *DHNI*, II, pp. 674, 696, 757.

[91] *EI*, II, pp. 136–7. The reading of the inscription seems to be doubtful.

[92] *Futūḥ-us Salātīn*, ed. A.S. Usha (Madras 1948), pp. 108, 398. (Cf. *The Cambridge Economic History of India*, I, pp. 58, fn. 1).

[93] W.H. Moreland, *The Agrarian System of Moslem India*, pp. 18–19.

[94] The Candravati inscription (1093) mentions five hundred Brāhmaṇa donees and enumerates more than forty *gotras.* EI, XIV, pp. 143–6, 197–200.

[95] H.M. Elliot and John Beam, *Memoirs of the Races and Races of N.W. Provinces*, I, p. 8.

[96] *Settlement Report of Shahjahanpur*, (1874) p. 59.

[97] Cunningham, *ASI*, I, pp. 352–6; *JASB*, VI, pp. 777–81.

[98] *Ā'īn-i Akbarī*, tr. Jarret, II, pp. 187–8, 290.

The inscription already shows that *rā* is an abbreviation of *rāuta*; (cf. Jaunpur brick Ins., no. I, 9, with the introductory note). The *rāuta* appears as a magnate with money, who in repayment of a debt holds villages in mortgage. It is extremely interesting that in a territory so close to Badaun, and one which acknowledges the sovereignty of Delhi, the *rāutas* were able to receive villages in mortgage and make transactions of this kind without reference to any other authority. Quite obviously, the Sultanate had not yet made any perceptible alteration in the position of the *rāutas*. It is noteworthy that the Jaunpur inscription of V.S. 1273/A.D. 1217 indicates a similar state of affairs in Eastern U.P.

The inscriptions on the plate seem to indicate that while the villages were held in mortgage, the creditor was to receive certain fixed numbers of coins called *viṁśopakas* and a payment known as *ṣaṭṭraṁsatādaya*.

The *viṁśopaka* was a copper coin bearing a value equal to one-twentieth of the *drammā* or standard silver coin.[100] In the Pratihara inscriptions several categories of coins are mentioned, such as the *drammā pada*, *viṁśopaka*, *rupaka* and *paṇa*.[101] The total number of separate payments in *viṁśopakas* under the transactions recorded in the present inscription amount to fifteen *viṁśopakas* according to the endorsements on the reverse. If the *viṁśopaka* was 1/20th of the *drammā*, this would not be a large amount.

With reference to *viṁśopakas*, it is interesting to note that the copper-plate inscription does not mention *tankās* and *jitals*, the normal currency under Iltutmish and his successors. The reason for this could be that around Kasrak (adjoining the rebellious territory of Katehar), the Sultanate coinage was not actually in use in the thirteenth century.

Ṣaṭṭraṁsatādāya is a compound word: *ṣaṭṭrṁśati* + *ādāya*. The literal meaning of this word is the thirty-sixth part of the *ādāya* which can mean either produce or income.[102] It is likely that the *ṣaṭṭraṁsatādāya* was the name of a tax imposed on the village or a

[99] Sircar, *Glossary*, p. 269. For details see our Ins. II, no. 9.

[100] Ṭhakkura Pheru describes the values of the *viṁśopakas* and *drammās* as follows: 'One *drammā* is equal to 20 *viṁśopakas* and 50 *drammās* equal to one *tankā*' (*Dravayaprikśhā*, Ist Chapter, 4th Verse); cf. Dashrath Sharma, op.cit., pp. 318–20; Sircar, *Glossary*, p. 134.

[101] Sharma *Indian Feudalism*, p. 130; Lallanji Gopal, op.cit., pp. 204–5.

[102] Sircar, *Glossary*, p. 5; Williams Monier's *Sanskrit English Dictionary*, s.v.

local term for a superior right analogous to the terms *satārahi* (one-seventeenth) and *biswī* (one-twentieth) of later times, which were fiscal claims levied by *zamindars* in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in the regions of Awadh and Doab.[103] The *saṭ-ṭraṁsatādāya* may well have been paid in kind, as a part (1/36th) of the actual produce.

It would seem that the borrower agreed to pay periodically a certain amount in cash, which seems to have been rather nominal, while he also surrendered the right to a tax on the area mortgaged.

The table below lists the various credit transactions recorded in the inscription.

	Date	*Obligation*	*Names of Debtors*
1.	V. S. 1290 Caitra Sudi 13 Tuesday/ 14 March A.D 1234.	Vim.5, 1/36 of the produce	Śrīmat Samahamrājju Lohāḍa son of *rā* Sāḍhe, Hole, son of *rā* Sṛahava.
2.	V. S. 1298, Ist day Vadi Kārttika, Sunday/22 Sept. A.D 1241.	V.I. and 1/36 part of the produce	Bhojju son of Sīḍha
3.	V. S. 1299, 4th Sudi of Phālguna Tuesday/24 Feb. A.D 1243.	V.I. and 1/36 of the produce	Mahamrājju, Gajju, Bhojju, Gaṅgen, Pālhe son of Sīḍha.
4.	Caitra Sudi 8 Friday/ 30 March	V.I. 1/36 of the produce	Same persons
5.	S. 1299 Āṣāḍha vadi Wed./10 June A.D 1243.	V.3. 1/36 of the produce	Mahamrājju, Pālhe son of Sīḍha, Siyāura son of Mahamrājju
6.	V.S. 1300 Bhādra Sudi 12 Sat./ 29th Aug. A.D 1243.	V.1. 1/36 part of the produce	Mahaṁgama, son of Sīḍha
7.	Māgh Sudi 5	V.1.	Mālhe, son of *rā* Dharmava
8.	S. 1302 Pauṣa Sudi 5/25 Dec. A.D 1245.	V.I. 1/36 of the produce	Candra Lohaḍa, son of Sṛahava

[103] Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, pp. 133, 139, 162–3; *The Cambridge Economic History*, I, p. 244.

9.	S. 1307 Aṣvina Sudi 5 Buddha/20 Sept: A.D 1251.	V.2.	Maham Lohaḍa, son of Sṛahava
10.	S. 1339 Caitra Sudi 9 Guru/19 March A.D 1283. (executed a fresh deed)	V.3.	Madana, Sṛadan, Udai, son of *rā* Lohada

Text, obverse: Plate VIII.

१. औ नमः संवत १२८३ चैत्र सुदि ११ भोमै वोदामयुतास्य ---------- परम-
भट्टारकत्यादि श्रीमत्सुरत्राण समसदीनविजय राज्ये
२. कसरक प्रतिगणकै षोजाष्ठांदई सृषार मुलुक रा धनिको नामना (नाम्ना)
मतः। कंधडा ग्राम वास्तव्य
३. वाछिल गोत्रे राचाचे, रा पासेल सुत स्वधन प्रदत्तं अतस्सकाशारध (द्ध)
रणिको नामना मतः ---------- त्रयः
४. भारद्वाज गोत्रे ब्राह्मण, तिवाडीभट्ट पदुमभट्ट ---- संघसुत ----------
५. गंगेनसुत। ऐतरेक मतो पुत्रा गुडांत पत्र प्रदत्तं। निगोही प्रतिगणेकै ग्राम
ईकडाम्वो, खबौली, षिडिया, धुले -
६. ली ऐत ग्राम चारि विशोपका १० पृथकु पट्टृंसत्यादाया ----------
७. (उन रजेबाडौ) चतुराध विसुद्ध भोक्ता, कसरक महाजन विप्रजानिगोही
भट्टा धरम्व पुत्र सहदेवा पुत्र-
८. सहभट्ट वील्हाभट्ट ---------- एते साक्षिमरू वदति। पं० देदूकेन लिषीतं
प्रमाण मति।

Text, reverse:

१. संवत १२९० चैत्र सुदि १३ भौमे ----------
२. मुलुक कंधडा ग्राम वास्तव्य राचाचे रा पासल सुत वाछिल गोत्रे राऊत
जातीय स्वधनं प्रदत्तं। अतस्सकाशारधरणिको नामना मत (नाम्ना मतः)
३. ग्राम वास्तव्य गर्ग गोत्रे – श्री मन्त सामहमंराज्जु ---------- रासाढे-
सुत लोहड होले रा स्रहव सुत गुडांत पत्र प्रदत्तं। ग्रामु
४. उना, सलेली, ढलहला, विशोपका पंच पट्टृंसत्यादादया। संवत १२९८
कार्तिक वदि १ रवौ भोज्जु सीढ सुत विशोपका १ षडंसत्या।
५. संवत १२९९ फाल्गुन सुदि ४ भोमे महाराज्जु, गाज्जु भोज्जु, गंगेन। पाल्हे
सीढसुत। विंशोपका १ पट्टृंस। पुनः चैत्र सुदि ८ सुक्रे
६. महमराज्जु, गाज्जु भोज्जु गांगु पाल्हे रा सीढसुत विशोपका १ षट्टृंस।
संवत १२९९ आषाढ सुदि बुधे महांराज्जु पाल्हे सीढ सुत।

७. सिआउर महमराज्जु सुत विंशोंपका ३ षडंस॥ संवत् १३०० भाद्रम्व सुदि
१२ शनौ महमंगाग सीढ सुत विंशो-
८. पका १ षट्टसत्या। मार्ग सुदि ५ बुधे माल्हे रा धरम सुत विंशोपका १
संवत् १३०२ पौष सुदि ५ चन्द्रो लोहड स्रहव सुत
९. विंशोपिका १ पट्सत्या॥ संवत १३०७ आष्विन सुदि बुधे महमंलोहड स्रहव
सुत विंशोपका २॥ संव(त) १३३९ चैत्र सुदि ९ गुरौ
१०. रा लोहड सुत उदई स्रदन मदन ---------- गुडांत पत्र (प्रदत्तं) उना
सलेली ढलहला विंशोपका ३
११. ----------
१२. ----------पं० कुलधर लिषितं

Translation:

1. Oṁ! Salutation.
   In the Samvat year 1283, on the eleventh day of the bright half of the month Caitra, on Tuesday during the reign of Paramabhaṭṭāraraka,[104] His Majesty (Śrīmat) Suratrāṇa Samasadin (Sulṭān Shamsuddīn)[105]. . . at Vodamayutā.[106]

2-3. In Kasrak *pratiganaka* in 'sojāsāṁvadi sarsāra muluk'[107] (?) creditor[108] known by the name of *ra* (*rāuta*).[109] *Ra* (*rāuta*) Cāce of Vāchhila *gotra*[110] (Bāchchila), the son of *rā* (*rāuta*) Pāsala, an inhabitant of the Kaṁdhaḍā village, advanced his own money.

[104] An established title of paramount sovereign at par with *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Parameśvara*. Other epigraphical evidence of this title goes back as far as the fourth and fifth centuries, Cf. B.N.S. Yadava, op.cit., p. 113, *DHNI*, I, pp. 509, 583, II, 685.

[105] This Sanskritized form of the Sulṭān's name and title is also given on Iltutmish's coins. Cf. H.N. Wright, *Sultans of Delhi*, p. 21, No. 54–5; Edward Thomas, *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, pp. 71, 77.

[106] In the undated Badaun, inscription of Lakhanpāla 'Vodamayutā' is specifically described as the ornament of the land of Pāṅcāla and is praised copiously in such a manner as to lead us to believe that it was the only important city that the dynasty of Candra possessed. *EI*, I, p. 61. The identification of 'Vodamayutā' with Badaun is thus beyond question.

[107] The words following 'in' could not be properly deciphered.

[108] *Dhanika*, for this term see also *JUPHS*, *XVIII*, pt. I, II (1945), pp. 146–7; Sharma, *Indian Feudalism*, p. 170, f. 3; Monier Williams, *Sanskrit English Dictionary*, s.v.

[109] See Supra.

[110] See Supra.

4. The borrowers (*dharaṇiko*) from them known, namely as the three Brāhmaṇs of Bhāradvāja gotra, Tivāḍī *Bhaṭṭa*,[111] Paduma *bhaṭṭa*, ... son of Saṁgha .....

5-6. sons of Gaṅgen ..... executed a deed (*Guḍāṁta Patra*)[112] (pledging) four villages — viz. Ikḍāmavo, Khabeli, Ṣeria and Dhuleli in Nigohār[113] *pratigaṇaka*, and ten *viṁśopakās*[114] and in addition to *ṣaṭṭṛamsatāyādāya*[115] ..... with their collective consent.

(Description of boundaries not intelligible).

7. They enjoyed clear four boundaries of their principality (rajvāḍau). The *Mahājan*[116] of Kasrak Biprajā (---), the *bhaṭṭa* Dharamva, son of Sahadeva (name illegible) of Nigohi are made witnesses.

. . . written by Pandita Dāduka. The matter is valid.

Translation, reverse:

1. In the Samvat year 1290 on the 13th day of the bright half the month Caitra on Tuesday. . . .

2. *Rā* (*rāuta*) Cāce of Vāchhila gotra in *rāuta* caste, son of *rā* (*rāuta*) Pāsala resident of Kaṁdhaḍā *grāṁa* advanced his own money.

3. The borrowers (*dharaṇiko*) from them known namely, as the four persons of the Garga *gotra*, Śrīmantsāmahamrājju . . . son of *rā* (*rāuta*) Sāḍhe, Lohaḍa, Hole son of *rā* Sṛahava excuted a deed (*Guḍāṁta patra*). . . .

[111] *Bhaṭṭa* may be used in the sense of 'minstrel' and a title of respect attached to the names of learned Brāhmaṇs, Sircar, *Glossary*, pp. 51–2, 57.

[112] *Gudāṁta Patra* is the name of a type of document, the exact nature of which is doubtful. It was probably a kind of lease deed or a document for a lease of land by the proprietors to the cultivators. Its equivalent terms are — *Guṇāpatra* (*Lekha-padahati*) *Gonotnamum*, *Guṇakṣara* — also available Sircar, *Glossary*, pp. 123–4.

[113] See Supra.

[114] Ibid.

[115] Ibid.

[116] *Mahājana* is a compound word (Mahā + jana). It is used to denote a great person, the member of a Village Council, or a merchant. Apte, op.cit., s.v. Sircar, *Glossary*, p. 177. In later medieval times *mahājana* simply meant a money lender; and this might well be the meaning here.

4. (after receiving) the villages Unā, Saleli and Dhalahalā and five *viṁśopakas saṭṭraṁsatya*. In the Samvat year 1298, on the first day of the dark half of the month Kārttika on Sunday, Bhojju, son of Sīḍha (paid) one *viṁśopaka* and *saṭṭraṁsat*.

5. In the Samvat year 1299 on the 4th day of the bright half of the month Phālguna, on Tuesday, Mahārājju, Gajju, Bhojju, Gaṅgen and Pālhe, son of Sīḍha (paid) one *viṁśopakā*. Again, on the 8th day of the bright half of the month Caiṭra on Friday,

6. Mahamrājju, Gājju, Bhojju, Gāngu and Pālhe son of *rā* Sïḍha (paid) one *viṁśopakā* and *saṭṭraṁsa*. In the Samvat year 1299 on the 7th day of dark half of the month Āṣāḍha on Wednesday Mahamrājju and Pālhe—

7-8. son of Sīḍha, Siāura, son of Mahamrājju (paid) *viṁśopakā* and *saṭṭraṁsa*. In the Samvat year 1300, 12th day of the bright half of Bhādra, on Saturday Mahmgāma, son of Sīḍha (paid) one *viṁśopakā* and *saṭṭraṁsatya*. In the Samvat year 1302 on the 5th day of the bright half of the month Pauṣa, Candra Lohaḍa, son of Sṛahava.

9. (paid) one *viṁśopakā* and *saṭṭraṁsatya*. In the Samvat year 1307, on the 5th day of the bright half of Āsvina, Wednesday, Moham Lohaḍa, son of Sṛahava (gave) two *viṁśopaka* the Samvat year 1339—

10. on the 9th day of bright half of the month Caitra, on Thursday Udai, Sradan, Madana, son of *rā* Lohaḍa executed a (fresh) deed (*Guḍāṁta patra*) (for) the villages of Unā Selali and Dhalahalā and three *viṁśopakās*.

11. . . . . .

12. Written by Pandita Kuladhara.

12. Stone Inscription of Ramgaya (Mirzapur District)

Reported, *ARIE* (Delhi, 1963–4), 1959–60, List No. C 581.

This inscription was found at Ramgaya one and a half miles west of Vindhyachal in Mirzapur District. The inscription, which is

damaged, is written in the Nagari script and is dated Śaka 1155/A.D. 1233.

Since the text is not available, one has to rely on the contents as reported, which are to the effect that Gaṅga Rām planted a garden in Chandrapur. The place Chandrapur remains unidentified.

13. Stone Inscription at Kalinjar Fort

Reported by Atkinson. *N.W.P. Gazetteer*, I. p. 469.

On the image of Narsingh (the *avatāra* of Viṣṇu) at Kalinjar fort, there is a Sanskrit inscription dated V.S. 1292/A.D. 1235. It records a pilgrimage. The text of inscription not available.

14. Rock Inscription at Ajaygaḍh Fort

Reported in *ARIE*, 1969–70, List No. B 200; *AR*, *ASI*, 1935–6, p. 92.

This inscription was discovered on the panel of male and female deities, on a rock near the fourth gate of Ajayagadh fort. Surviving only in part, the record consists of four lines in Sanskrit in the Nagari script. Its characters belong to the thirteenth century. The text is not reproduced here.

The inscription records an eulogy of the Vāstavya *vaṁśa* (family). Jājuka, a member of this family, bestowed lordship of the earth on Ganda and received from him the village Duganda. Maheśvara, another member of the family, is mentioned, and there is a reference to the Candella King Kirttivarman.

15. Stone Slab Inscription of Ajayagaḍh Fort

Reported in *ARIE*, 1969–70, List No. B. 201. Noticed in *AR*, *ASI*, 1935–6, p. 92.

This inscription was found on a slab lying a few steps below the first gate of Ajayagaḍh fort. It is fragmentary, comprising fifteen lines of corrupt Sanskrit in Nagari script. The inscription belongs to the thirteenth century. The text is not published.

The purpose of this inscription is not clear. The names of the

Candella rulers, Vīra (line 4),[117] Bhoja (line 7) and Devalladevi (line 10) are preserved.

16. Rock Inscription at Ajayagaḍh Fort

Reported by Cunningham in *ASR*, XXI, p. 47; *ARIE*, 1969–70, List No. B 202.

This inscription, which is damaged, was discovered below a row of eight images of female deities, carved in relief on a rock near a Tirhavani *darwājā* of the Ajayagaḍh fort. It is written in Sanskrit in Nagari script, in the thirteenth century. The text is not published.

The inscription records that the images of Ambikā, Caṅḍī, Kamokhya, Cāmuṇḍā, Kālikā and others (names lost) were installed by Suhaḍadeva, son of *ṭhakkura* Akhau of Jayapura-durga.[118]

17. Stone Inscription, Mahoba

Reported in *Catalogue of Lucknow State Museum*, Lucknow, No. E 29.

Preserved at Lucknow State Museum, Lucknow.

This fragmentary stone inscription was found at Mahoba. It is engraved on a slab of black marble and measuring about $2 \times 6\frac{1}{2}'' \times 1''$. Several lines are now completely obliterated, and there are others of which only small portions are preserved. It is written in Sanskrit in Nagari script in ornamental characters and belongs to the thirteenth century.

Unfortunately, the damage to the inscription is so extensive that the contents cannot even be partly reconstructed. The references to Madanavarman (line 3) and Jejākabhukti[119] (line 6) together with the style of the script, help us to assign it to the Candella dynasty.

[117] Vīravarman (Vīra — 1250–86) and Bhojavarman (Bhoja — 1286–8) were both rulers of the Candella dynasty. See Bose, op.cit., pp. 110–12.

[118] The fort of Ajayagaḍh is always mentioned as Jayapuradurga in the inscriptions. Bose, op.cit., p. 11, fn. 27.

[119] Jejākabhukti is the ancient name of Bundelkhand, the kingdom of Candratreya or Candellas. Its capitals were Mahoba and Khajuraho (*EI*, I, p. 218). The name was corrupted into Jājahuti (Alberuni's *India*, I, p. 202), and Jājhoti (Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 481 ; see also N.L. Dey, op.cit., p. 81.)

18. Etawah Fort Inscription

Reported in *ARIE* (Delhi 1967), 1962–3, List No. B 956. Text not previously published. But I obtained an impression from the Chief Epigraphist's Office, Mysore. The text and its translation is printed here for the first time.

This stone inscription was found lying in the *Kuṭī* of Baba near the Etawah Fort mound, 2 miles from Etawah city. It was written in the thirteenth century in Sanskrit in Nagari script. As regards the orthography, palatal sibilants are indicated by dental sibilants and conjunct consonants are broken up into separate consonants i.e. सकान्देन in line 9; दुरग in line 10. It consists of fifteen lines; the eighth and the ninth lines are damaged. The image of Durgā, referred to in the inscription, does not seem to have been recovered.

The inscription opens with the adoration of the goddess Durgā. Mahārāja Ajayasiṁha performed a sacrifice after the death of his father's brother, Jaỳaccandra of Kannauj. The Mahārāja and his *purohita* then performed a *Caṇḍī mahāyoga* (a great sacrifice for Durgā). Subsequently, the *purohita* had to take away the image of Durgā that had been installed in the fort. He put it into a pit (*gartta*) so that the *Mlecchas* could not destroy it.

Jayaccandra, the ruler of Kaṁnauj, was defeated by Mu'izzud-dīn of Ghor at Chandwar near Etwah in A.D. 1193.[120] No direct reference to the occupation of Etawah is made in any Persian narrative; the inscription suggests that the neighbourhood of Etawah remained in the hands of his nephew Ajaysiṁha. Though Ajaysiṁha is styled *mahārājā*, he was apparently not accepted as ruler in other areas of the Gāhaḍavāla kingdom. No reference to him is made in inscription no. 6 (Machhlishahr inscription). Apparently, he was soon afterwards overthrown or driven away by the Ghorians. The inscription was engraved after the fort of Etawah was lost to the enemy (*'Mlecchas'*, *'Yavanas'*). Its purpose was to indicate the hiding place of the Durgā-image (a pit under the inscription) and to facilitate its recovery at some later time.

Text: Plate IX.

१. नमौ देव्यै

२. प्रतिष्ठा प्रतिमानां च चंडिका पुरारे दुर्गाधि

[120] *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī*, tr. Raverty I, p. 470.

३. महारा(ज) आ(ज)य सिंहेन धीमता कन्नोजस्यज्ज-
४. य चन्द्रस्य पितृव्यस्यान्ववायजः। दिवसमति
५. (तस्य) धस्वाहमार्चायस्तत्पुरोहितः। मया संपादितः
६. (इ) चंडी महायोगस्त कि वा दुर्ग सीमा स्थले दुर्ग(1)
७. स्थापनं चामवतपुरा (चाभवतपुरा) किं चाहमेव मलेच्छानं (।)
८. मयेन वस्तिमजय (नष्ट मानसः) ---------- जातिना ---------- स्म
बुबदंडी ---------- (?) (जातीन गर्तेस्मिन चण्डी) भा(नु)
९. द्रुतदयति (द्रुतद्राव्यति) सकान्देन (स्कन्देन) तस्ये तस्ये वासि तेहानि (शी)
१०. सना चापि विसर्जनं करोमि। दुरग स्थितां दुर्गां
११. दुर्गतिनासिनी (नाशिनी) च तमया प्रक्षिप्य गर्ते हन्ता (।)
१२. यवनानां यदायेना भविष्यति विनिःसृतिः
१३. प्रादुर्भाव स्व्यं (स्त्व्यं) तावच्चंडिकाया भविष्य
१४. ति, गर्जन जर्घनं मूढ मधुयावन्पिवाम्यहम्॥ Śloka Anuṣṭubh
[गर्ज गर्ज क्षणं मूढ मधुयावत्पिबाम्यंहम्]॥
१५. मया (त) तदीय स (ह) तेऽयैव गर्जष्यन्त्याषु (गर्जयिष्यन्त्याशु) देवता
(:)।

Translation:

1. Salute to the Goddess.
2. In the honour of the images of Caṇḍikā, Durgā and Śiva (in the city) installed by the
3. wise Mahārāja Ajayasiṁha who performed,
4. the sacrifice after (?) his father's brother Jayaccandra of Kannauj. Today,
5. I, his ācārya as well as priest, performed
6. the Mahāyoga of Caṇḍikā. The statue of Durgā was previously installed on the boundary,
7. or outer wall of the fort. My rationality has been destroyed because of my fear of the *Mlecchas*.
8-11. With great sorrow, touching her with my head (to honour her), I place this Durgā, the dweller of the fort and destroyer of bad luck, into this pit, till the god Skanda turns their (*Mlecchas*) glory (Sun) to dust.

12-13. When ill fate meets the *Yavanas*, she might re-appear, or manifest herself again amidst uproar.

14-15. Until that time I am a fool like a drunkard. (However) let not fear enter you; the gods will quickly return (with victory) along with you.

19. Jain Temple Inscription of Deogarh

Reported in *ARIE*, 1957–8, List No. C 30. The impression obtained from the Chief Epigraphist's Office, Mysore. The text and translation are given here for the first time.

This inscription was on the pedestal of a Jain image fixed on the northern wall of a Jain temple at Deogarh in Jhansi district. It consists of three incomplete lines in Sanskrit in the Nagari script the thirteenth century. The inscription records the gift of a charity-house in Gurjara (Gujarat ?).[121]

Text :

१. कुं(वर) पाल गच्छ ----------
२. श्री नागसेनाचार्यस्त श्री देवन प्रतिपादिता
३. गुर्जर हेसवे (देसवे) प्रतिष्ठा दान शाला।

Translation:

1. The Kuṁvar-pāl gachcha (sect). . . .
2. Śrī Deva Ācārya of Śrī Nāga Sen bestowed
3. a *dānśālā* (charity house) was built in the Gurjara[121] region.

20. Jain Temple Inscription of Deogarh Fort

Reported in *ARIE*, 1969–70, List No. C 2983.

This was found in the Jain temple of Deogarh fort in Jhansi district. It is a fragmentary inscription in Sanskrit in Nagari script of the thirteenth century. The text is not available. The inscription records the names of a few *pratimās* (images).

[121] H.C. Ray suggests that Gurjara may be identified with the territory of Western India as Gurjara Pratihara dynasty ruled at Malwa and Western India, *DHNI*, I, p. 9 fn. 2; 15, 72, 569.

21. Pillar Inscription of Lal Darwaza Masjid of Jaunpur

Reported by A. Führer, *The Sharqi Architecture of Jaunpur* (Archaeological Survey of India, New Series), XI, No. XXV, pp. 50–51.

Found on the two faces of the fourth octagonal pillar (middle row) of the south-west cloister of Lal Darwaza Masjid at Jaunpur, this inscription consists of eleven lines in Nagari script. It is dated Thursday, the first day of the waning moon of Caitra, in the Samvat year 1297/Thursday 21 March A.D. 1240. The text has not been published so far, and I was unable to see the inscription.

The inscription contains a long list of Hindu pilgrims, both men and women, who visited this place on the above-mentioned date. According to Führer,[122] this pillar was brought from one of the temples of Vijayacandradeva at Jaunpur.[123] Vijayacandradeva had ruled Kannauj from A.D. 1167 to 1169[124]; clearly, the votaries inscribed their names on the pillar when they visited the temple at a subsequent time.

22. Stone Inscription in the Fort Bijayagarh

Reported by Führer, *The Monumental Antiquities*, p. 256. Text not given.

This inscription was found in the fort of Bijayagarh in Tehsil Robertsganj, sixty miles to the south-east of Mirzapur. It is written in Sanskrit in Nagari script and dated S. 1300/A.D. 1243.

23. Charkhari Copper-Plate Inscription

Edited by Rai Bahadur Hira Lal Shastri, *EI*, XX, pp. 132–4 (with plate). Translated here for the first time.

This inscription was discovered at Charkhari tehsil in Hammirpur District. It measures $15^1/_8$" × $11^3/_8$" and consists of nineteen lines

[122] Führer, *Sharqi Architecture*, pp. 41, 50–1.

[123] The temple of Vijayacandra was situated at Mukat Ghat on Gumati river. See Atkinson's *Gazetteer N.W.P.*, XIX, pt. I, p. 117; Cf. Mian Muhammad Saeed; *The Sharqi Sultanate of Jaunpur*, p. 134.

[124] R.S. Tripathi, op.cit., pp. 317–19.

in Sanskrit in Nagari script. In the middle of the first six lines, there is a seated figure of the four-armed goddess Lakśmi, holding lotus flowers in the two upper hands. Over her head, there is a semi-circular hole apparently meant for a ring. The date of the inscription is Āśvina Sudi 8 Somvāsre 1311 Samvat/Monday 21 September A.D. 1254.

This copper plate was issued from Vilāspur[125] by the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara* Vīravarmmadeva (Vīravarman), the devout worshipper of Maheśvara and lord of Kalinjara. The purpose of the inscription is to record the grant of Tumtumā village in Dahi *viṣaya* by Vīravarman to Kāśyapa *gotra rāuta* Abhi of the Candreśvara family, in recognition of meritorious services of Dabhuhaḍvarman of 'Sondhi'.

Rai Bahadur Hiralal identifies 'Sondhī' with Seondha fort, now called Kanhargarh, situated on the banks of the Sindh river in Datia state. An intermediate form of the name, 'Sohandī', occurs in the *Ā'īn-i Akbarī*; the *parganā* of that name in *sarkār* Payānwān has been also identified with Seondha (I. Habib, *Atlas*, p. 28, col. a). Hiralal believes that there had been a war between members of the Candella dynasty, since the suffix '-varman' in the name Dabhuhaḍvarman strongly suggests Candella affiliations.[126]

The Jhansi stone inscription of A.D. 1262 and the Gurha *saṭi* stone inscription of A.D. 1286,[127] show that Vīravarma's kingdom lay between the rivers Sindh and Vetravati. It is possible that Vīravarman tried to expand his kingdom in the west, and Dabhyuhaḍvarman was perhaps one of the minor kings or chiefs against whom he had to fight.

The village of Tumtumā could not be identified. *viṣaya* Daḥi is situated $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the east of Bijawar in Bundelkhand.[128]

[125] Two, Icchawar (1711), and Pachar grants (1176), of King Paramarddi, were also issued from Vilāspur, (*IA*, XXV, pp. 205–8; *EI*, X, pp. 44–9). H.C. Ray has identified Vilaspur probably with the modern village, Pachar. Pachar is situated 12 miles north-east of Jhansi. *DHNI*, II, p. 715.

[126] *EI*, XX, p. 132.

[127] *EI*, V, p. 35, No. 242; p. 33, No. 227.

[128] See *DHNI*, II, p. 723; Another copper-plate of Vīravarma's reign of A.D. 1281 was also discovered at Dahi. *ASR*, XXI, pp. 74–7.

Text (Read by Rai Bahadur Hiralal Shastri):

१. औ सिद्धि ॥ जयत्याह्लादयन्विश्वंविश्श्वरसिरे (शिरो) धृतः ॥ चन्द्राते (त्रे) यनरेन्द्राणां वंस (श) श्चंद्रइवोज्वलः ॥१॥ Anuṣṭubh

२. तत्र प्रवृद्धमाने विरोधिविजयभा (भ्रा) जिष्नु (ष्णु) जयं स(श)क्ति विजय स(श)[क्त्या] दिवीराविर्भावभाश्व(स्व)रे

३. परमभट्टार[क]महाराजाधिराज परमेश्वर श्रीमदनवर्म्म देवपादानुध्यात् [त]। परम(भ)ट्टारक म-

४. हाराजाधिराज परमेश्वर श्री परमद्दिदेवपादानुध्यात। परमभट्टारक महाराजा-धिन्राज-

५. परमेश्वर परममाहेश्वर श्री त्रैलोक्यवर्म्मदेव पादानुध्यात। परम भट्टारक महा-

६. राजाधिराज परमेश्वरपरममाहेश्वर श्री कालिंजराधिपति महाराज शी (श्री) मद्वीर-

७. वर्म्म देवोविजयी। स एष दुवि (र्वि)षहतरप्रतापतापितसकलरिपुकुलः कुल-वधूमिव निराकुलां वसुं-

८. धरां परिपालयन्नविकलविवेक निर्म्मली कृतमतिः ॥ डाहीविषयान्तः प(।) ति टुमटुमा ग्रामोपगतान(न्)वा-

९. (ब्रां)ह्मणानन्याश्च मान्या(न्) कुटुंवि(बि)कायस्थदूतवैद्यमेदचांण्डालपर्य-न्तान(न्) समस्तप्रजालोकान्स बोध-

१०. यति समाजा(ज्ञा)पयति च अस्तु वःस(स)विदितं यथोपरि लिखितोयं ग्रामः सजल(स्थ)लः स्थावरजंगमः

११. स्वसीमावच्छिन्न (न्नः) साधउर्द्धो (भूद्ध(तभ) विष्यतव (द्व)र्तमाननिःसे (शे)षादायः सहितःप्रतिषिद्ध श्चा (चा)टादिप्रवेस(श)श्चास्माभिः श्री-

१२. विलासपुरे संवत (त्) १३११ आश्विन सु(शु)दि ८ सोमवारे पुण्यतीर्थो-दिकेन स्नात्वाभास्कर पूजापुर(रः)सरं मातापित्रोरा-

१३. त्मनः पुण्ययशो विवर्द्धये (वृद्धये)। व (चं)द्रेश्वरान्वये क(।) स्य (श्य) पगोत्रायराऊतदेवषमू प्रपौत्राय राऊत जगदेव

१४. पौत्राय राऊतहरिपालपुत्राय सोंधी संग्रामे दुभ्यहडवर्म्मयुद्धे कृतवीर्यातिस (श)ये प्रशा(सा)दे राऊतअभिनाम्ने शासनीक (कृ)त्य प्रदत्तं इतिमत्वा

१५. भवद्भिराजा (ज्ञा) श्रव(ण) विधेयैर्भूत्वाभागभोगादिकं सर्व्वस्मे समुपनेत-व्यंतदेनमस्य ग्रामं समंदिरप्राकारं सनि(र्ग)मप्र-

१६. वेस (शं) (स) वाद्या(वाह्या)भ्यतरादायं भुंजांनस्य वा(बा)धाकेनापि न कार्या अत्र च राजराज पुरूषादिभि स्वं स्वमाभाव्य (व्यं) परिहा(ह)-र्त्तव्यामि-

१७. दं चास्मत(द्)दानमनाहर्यं चेतिभाविभिरपि भूमिपालैः पालनीयं। उक्तं च।
शंखं भद्रासनं छत्रं वरास्वा (श्वा) वरवारणाः। भूमिदा-
१८. न (स्य) पुष्पाणि फलं स्वर्ग्गः पुरंदर॥ [Anuṣṭubh]
भूमिं यः प्रति गृन्हा (ह्ण) ति यच्च[श्च] भूमिं प्रयछ(च्छ)ति [।] उभौ तौ
पुन्य(ण्य)कर्म्माणौ नियतौ स्वर्ग्गगामि-
१८. नौ॥ [Anuṣṭubh]
ममवंशेक्षतिक्षीणो कोपि राजा भविष्यति। तस्य दासस्य दासोहं मम की-
[र्त्ति] र्ण [र्त्तिन] लोपयते [त्]॥ [Anuṣṭubh] सुभ (शुभं) भवतु॥

Translation:

1. Oṁ! Hail! victory is the lineage of the Candratreya sovereigns refulgent as the moon by reason of its gladdening the universe and its being held on the head (i.e.) respected by the rulers of the world (just as the moon is held on the head by the lord of the universe, i.e. God Śiva).

2-6. In that (family) resplendent with the birth of heroes like Jayaśakti, Vijayaśakti and others, shining with ever-increasing victory over (their) foes, was born the illustrious king Vīravarmmadeva, victorious, overlord of Kalinjara, great devotee of the supreme god (Śiva) supreme lord king of kings meditating on the feet of the illustrious Śrī Trailokyavarmmadeva, supreme lord (with all the other royal titles), who meditated on the feet of the illustrious Śrī Parmarddideva, supreme lord etc., who meditated on the feet of the illustrious Śrī Madanvarmmadeva, supreme lord etc.

7-8. He, protecting the earth without any disturbance as if (it were the) young bride of the family of enemies who were overpowered by his invincible valour, with his intellect purified because of his unobstructed discrimination, informs and instructs the residents of the village Tumtumā situated in the territory (*viṣaya*) of Delhi—

9-14. the Brāhamaṇs and respected persons, householders, Kāyasthas Dutas, physicians Cāṇḍālas and others. Let it be known to you that this village with its land and water, movable and immovable (objects), overhead and underground circumscribed, with its boundaries, with its whole produce (and everything) past, present and future—with

access to it prohibited for *Cāṭas*[129] and others, has been graciously granted by us together with a charter, for increasing his own religious merit and fame as well as his parents for increasing his prosperity, at Vilāspura on Āśvina Sudi of Somavāra Samvat year 1311, after bathing in sanctified water and after worshipping the sun, to Abhī of the Kāśyapa *gotra*, who belongs to the Candreśvara lineage, son of *rāuta* Haripāla, grandson of *rāuta* Jagatdeva and great grandson of *rāuta* Devaṣmu — who performed a deed of valour in a battle with Dubhyahaḍavarma of Sondhi, as a recognition.

15-6. Knowing that this has been gifted through a grant, you, who obediently listened to the royal orders and presented him all his dues (such as tax) portion (of the agricultural produce etc.) (*bhāga-bhoga*); let no one cause any obstruction to him who enjoys this village with its houses and surrounding wall with its ingress and egress, and the other sources of wealth within and without its boundaries. Here also the kings and officers of kings should avoid anything which is not proper to this grant of ours. Future monarchs should likewise protect this grant of ours considering that it ought not be wrested or seized.

17. It has been (truly) said, that the conch, the throne, the umbrella, the horses and stately elephants (the insignia of royalty) are (but) the blossoms of the grant of land and its fruit is the attainment of heaven, O Puraṁdara.

18. The person who grants the land and the one who accepts it — both of them are blessed with meritorious deeds and will most surely attain heaven.

[129] According to Fleet and Bühler, *Cāṭas* were irregular soldiers. Sircar, *Glossary*, p. 67. Inscriptions often specify that the granted land was not be entered by *Cāṭas* and *Bhāṭas* except for seizing robbers and those equally of harm or treason to the king. But sometimes the *Cāṭas* are used in the inscriptions in the sense of royal officials (*EI*, XI, p. 221; IV, p. 160). *Yājñavalkya*, I, p. 336 speaks of the duty of the king to protect people from the harassment caused by *Cāṭas*, robbers and *Kāyasthas*, and the *Mitākśara* explains *Cāṭas* as persons who deprive people of their wealth after creating false confidence in them (V.S. Apte, *Practical Sanskrit English Dictionary*, s.v.). The word *Cāṭa* is explained by Anandagiri in *Bṛhadāranyakāopaniṣad* by saying that *Cāṭas* are those that transgress the rules of conduct for decent people (*EI*, IX, p. 296).

19. When I am incapable or injured, whoever becomes king here, let him consider me as his slave's slave and not destroy my fame. May he be prosperous.

24. Rock Inscription at Ajayagaḍh Fort

Reported in *Bhandarkar's List* No. 558. Mentioned by Cunningham, *ASR*, XXI, (1883–5), p. 51, plate E, XIII; the substance reported by him is based on a reading by the 'Simla Pandit'. Ibid., p. 61. See also *ARIE*, 1969–70, List No. 189. Edited by Kielhorn in *EI*, I, pp. 325–30.

Found at Ajayagaḍh fort, this inscription is engraved on a rock, situated between the entrances to the Pātāl Ganga and Pātāl Jamuna. A crack divides the inscription into two portions. It comprises fifteen lines in Sanskrit in Nagari script. The size of the letters is about 5/8″. With the exception of the introductory *oṁ oṁ siddhi* and the date at the end, the inscription is in verse. As regards orthography, *b* is denoted by the sign for *v* in *vālo* (line 5), *aṁvudhi* (line 6), *vali* (line 13), and *vudhaḥ* (line 14), but not in *babhuva* (lines 8 and 10); the dental sibilant is used for the palatal in *vaṁsaḥ* and *vaṁse* (lines 2 and 8), *yasasvinī* (line 13), *sudhāṁsu* (line 14), and *visddhātma* (line 15). The palatal is used for the dental sibilant in *śuto* (line 8), *-śīmā* (line 9), and *-kāśā* (*raṁ*) line 13 and *ṣ* is employed for *kh* in *vaiśāṣa* in line 15. The inscription is dated both in words and figures in the Vikrama year by symbols; the Sāgar (Seas)=7, Adi (moon)=1, Agni (fires)=3 and Sudhāmśu (moon) =1, i.e. 1317 Vikrama year, on Thursday, the 13th of the bright half of Vaiśākh/14 April A.D. 1261.

The above date is as read by Keilhorn, who does not agree with the date Samvat year 1312, given by the 'Simla Pandit'.

The inscription opens with 'oṁ oṁ siddhi', followed by a verse invoking the river Gangā. Next comes a list of Candella rulers from Kirttivarman to Vīravarman. In the family of Dadhīci, there was a man named Cāḍāla whose son was Śrīpāla. Śrīpāla's son, Maheśvara, married Vesaladevī (?), a daughter of Govindarāja;[130] their daughter Kalyāndevi, was the chief queen of Vīrā.

[130] Cunningham suggested '*kṣitipāla*' (King or lord of the earth). Govindarāja the maternal grandfather of Kalyandevī, was possibly the *rājā* of Nalāpura or Narwar, and to the predecessor of the famous Cāhaḍadeva, the gallant opponent of the Mohammadans, *ASR*, XXI, p. 51; *DHNI*, II, p. 731, fn. 1.

The object of this inscription is to record the construction of a well by Kalyāndevī, with a Maṇḍapa and a Śiva temple at Nandipura.[131]

The inscription tells us that Kirttivarman defeated Karṇa restored independence to the Candella kingdom (verse 3). His successor, Sallakshaṇa, is said to have taken away the fortunes of the Malwas and Cedis (verse 4). There follows a list of the names of those who freed the country from the *Turuṣkas*. Jayavarman, Prithvīvarman Madana, Paramarddi and Trailokyavarman.[132] In lines 8 and 9 the name of Vīra is mentioned. In the last line his full name, Vīravarman, is given.

Text (as read by Kielhorn):

ओं ओं सिद्धिः ॥

१. अर्द्धमीशतनोर्दृष्ट्वा शिलोच्चयसुताहृतं ।
ई[र्ष्यं]येव कृशा शीर्षे पातु वो[133] ऽमरवाहिनी ॥१॥ [Anuṣṭubh]
स्मरैकमित्रं नयनप्रमो-

२. दी जीयाछि(च्छि)रोभूषणमिन्दुमौलेः ।
इन्दुर्यतः श्रीचपलत्वदोषनीदी धरायामुदियाय वंस (श) : ॥२॥ [Upajāti]
कुंभोद्भवः कर्ण्णपयोधिपाने प्रजेश्वरो नूतनराज्यसृष्टौ ।
त[त्रा]-

३. स विद्याधरगीतकीर्त्तिः श्रीकीर्त्तिवर्म्मक्षितिपो जगत्यां ॥३॥ [Upajāti]
सल्लक्षणो मालवचेदिलक्ष्मीलुं[टा]कखड्गः क्षितिपश्च तस्मात् ।
जयैकधामा जय-

४. वर्म्मदेव[स्तस्मा]च्च राज्यं प्रशशास[धी]रः ॥४॥ [Upajāti]
पृथ्वीवर्म्माऽभवत्तस्माद[थ]राजा पृथूपमः ।
ततोपि मदनः क्ष्माभृद्राज्येऽभूद्रिपुमन्मथः ॥५॥ [Anuṣṭubh]
अथाभव[च्छी]-

५. [प]रमर्दिराजो वा(बा)लोपि नेता रिपुवीरहन्ता ।
[साम्रा]ज्य[ल]क्ष्मीर्यमिहानुरत्का पतिंवरेवाशु समाजगाम ॥६॥ [Upajāti]
त्रैलोक्यवर्म्मक्षितिपोऽथ राज्यं[श]-

[131] Kielhorn suggests that Nandipura of this inscription is another name of Jayapuradurgga or Ajayagaḍh. (See *DHNI*, II, p. 731).

[132] Ray suggests that the inscription calls Trailokyavarman 'a very creator in providing strong place' (*durggapravidhānvedaḥ*) 'may possibly contain hint of the system of warfare followed by Candella prince.' (Ibid., p. 727).

[133] Originally वौ altered to वो.

६. [शास दु]र्ग्गप्रविधानवेधाः ।
तुरुष्ककुल्यांवु(बु)धिमग्नधा[त्री]समुद्धृतिं विष्णुरिव प्रतन्वन् ॥७॥ [Upajāti]
रणाजिरे कृत्तरिपुप्रवीरप्रियाप्तिसंमोदितनाकक[न्य]ः ।
तस्यात्मजो वीर[मही]-

७. महेशो जयत्यसौ निर्म्मलवीरधर्म्मः ॥८॥ [Upajāti]
तार्क्षे(क्ष्यें)ण वल्गन्विहरन्वृषेण दुष्टप्रहन्ता रिपुरा[शि]भेत्ता ।
किं विष्णुरीशः किमु वेति दृष्टो जयत्यसौ विश्वजनैर्न्नमस्यः ॥९॥ [Upajāti]

८. दधीचिवंसे(शे)ऽद्भुतमत्य[धा]मा श्री[चा][134] दलो ऽधुद्भुजजन्मवंद्यः ।
अ[था]स्य साक्षादिव वीरधर्म्मो(र्म्मः) श्रीपाल इत्यास शु(सु)तो वरिष्ठः ॥१०॥
मूर्द्धाभिषिक्तैरपि वंदनीयो महेश्वरस्तत्तनयो बभू- [Upajāti]

९. व ।
यं राजमानं वृषं[ली]लयैव यथार्थनामानमुदाहरन्ति ॥११॥ [Upajāti]
गोविंदराजक्षितिपालपुत्री तेनोपयेमे सुचरित्रशी(सी)मा ।
लोकोत्तरैर्या चरितैः प्रपूज्या शिवेव नित्यं पतिदेवतानां ॥१२॥ [Upajāti]
नाम्ना[वेस ?]-

१०. लदेवीति सौंदर्यगुणशालिनी ।
कल्याणदेवीति सुता तस्या अथ यशस्विनी ॥१३॥ [Anuṣṭubh]
सेयं सदा श्रीरिव कैटभारे[:] श्रीवीर[राज्ञो] महिषीत्वमासा[।]
मनोहरै[:स्वं]चरितैरुदारैर्बभूव पुण्यैः परिकीर्त्तनीया ॥१४॥(॥) [Upajātī]
कि व[र्णय]ते चारुचरित्र(सी)मा विशुद्धकर्त्ति-

११. प्रथिता जगत्यां ।
या सत्यवाचा भुवनप्रसिद्धं धर्म्मप्र[भुं] तं सहसा जिगाय ॥१५॥ [Upājāti]
तेषां वं[द्यत]मा वशिष्ठदयिता स्थाणीः शरीरार्द्धक
भ्राजिष्णुं गिरिजां नमन्ति किल तें गंगापि तैः संस्तुता ।
ते[काम]प्रमदास्तुतिव्यवसिता येषां न दृग्गोचरा
[सत्या?]-

१२. [द्यैः]प्रथिता गुणैः शुचितनुः कल्याणदेवी[गि]रा ॥१६॥[Śārdūlavikrīḍita]
[आयु]:श्रीवयसां स्थितिं कमलिनी[प]त्रोल्लसद्वारिण-
स्तुल्यां प[ण्य]नत[भ्रुवो?] निपति[ता]मोहांधकारे घने ।
[एकां]कीर्त्तिलतां विलोक्य मुचिरं स्थास्नुं तदुत्पत्तये
सत्यौदार्यगुण – – – मचिरात्कल्या[ण]-

[134] Originally word is च altered to चा, चे.

१३. देवी[गिरा] ॥१७॥ [Śārdūlavikrīḍita]

[स्थली ?] मथेयं व(ब)लिश[स्त्र?]गु[प्तां]निश्चित्य चक्रे कृपया परीता।
जीवातवे पूर्ण्ण[त]नु पयोभिः सुधोपमैर्निर्जरकूपमेनं ॥१८॥ [Upajāti]
सा पा[त्रं] प्रददावे[कं] निर्ज्जरस्य यस(श)स्विनी।
पुण्य[मे] तत्प्रप(पा)याश्च मंडपं रुचिरं व्यधात् ॥१९॥ [Anuṣṭubh]
सागरोपमकाशा(सा)[रं ?]

१४. [महाशे ?] स्व[मं]दिरं।
[नांदीपुरे[च]कारासौ यशोधवलितावनिः ॥२०॥ [Anuṣṭubh]
वत्सराजकवेः पौत्रो हरिपालकवेः[सु]तः
रत्नपाल इमां शुद्धां प्रशस्तिमकरोद्बु(द्बु)धः ॥२१॥ [Anuṣṭubh]
सगरेंद्वग्निसुधांसु(शु)मिते

१५. विक्रमवत्सरे।
उच्चकार विसु(शु)द्धात्मा विदग्धो राम[नाम]कः ॥२२॥ [Anuṣṭubh]
संवत् १३१७ रा श्रीजे[त]नव्यापारे ॥ श्रीमद्वीरवर्म्मराज्ये ॥ वैशाष(ख)शुदि १३
गुरौ ॥----------॥

Translation (by Keilhorn):

Oṁ! Oṁ! (May) success (attend)!

1. May the divine Gangā on Śiva's head protect you (she who is) attenuated as it were with jealousy, at seeing half his body appropriated by the daughter of the mountain.

2. Glory be to that one friend of the God of love, who gladdens the eyes (and is) the head-ornament of the moon-crested (Śiva) — the moon, from whom here on earth, there has sprung a race which has freed Fortune from the blemish of fickleness.

3. In that (race) there was a ruler over the earth whose fame is sung by the Vidyādhara; (who was) the pitcher born[135] in swallowing that ocean — Karṇa (and) the lord of creatures in creating a new kingdom — the illustrious Kirttivarman.

4. From him (sprang) the prince Sallakshaṇa whose sword took away the fortune of the Mālavas and Cedis; and after him the valiant Jayavarmadeva, whose one glory was victory, ruled over the kingdom.

[135] This refers to the sage Agastya who is said to have swallowed the ocean.

5. After him Pṛthvīvarman was king, similar to Pṛthū; and then Madana ruled over the kingdom, a god of love to his opponents.

6. Then came the illustrious king Paramarddi, who, as a leader, even in his youth, struck down opposing heroes, (and) to whom the fortune of universal sovereignty quickly came, like an enamoured damsel choosing him of her own free will.

7. Then the prince Trailokyavarman ruled the kingdom, a very creator in providing strong places. Like Viṣṇu he was, in lifting up the earth, immersed in the ocean formed by the streams of *Turuṣkas*.

8. Victorious is his son Vīra, that ruler of the earth, of spotless bravery, who has delighted the damsels of heaven by sending them, as lovers, the hostile heroes whom he cut down on the fields of battle.

9. He is victorious (and) to be worshipped by all men; when he strikes down the wicked and disperses crowds of opponents, people gaze at (him) wondering whether he be Viṣṇu riding on Garuḍa or Śiva roaming about on his bull.

10. In the race of Daḍhīci there was an illustrious (Cā)ḍala, endowed with marvellous true glory, an object of reverence for the Kshatriyas; and he had a most excellent son named Śrīpāla, who was brave, as it were, incarnate.

11. His son, to be revered even by crowned heads, was Maheśvara, whom people declare to be properly named when he disports himself, valiant like a bull.

12-13. He married the prince Govindarāja's daughter, unsurpassed in virtuous conduct, who, for her extraordinary deeds, like Śiva's wife, must always be honoured by faithful wives,— the lady Vesaladevī (?) endowed with both beauty and excellent qualities, Her daughter, now, is Kalyānadevī, of great renown.

14. When she became the chief queen of the illustrious king Vīra, like unto Śrī (when she became the wife) of the enemy of Kaiṭabha, this lady by her pleasing, noble and holy deeds became famous for ever.

15. What need is there to describe her, unsurpassed in pleasing conduct (and) well-known the earth over for her pure fame, — her, who by truthful speech has at once surpassed that world-renowned lord of justice (Yudhiṣṭhira)?

16. To some Vaśiṣṭha's wife (Arunddhati) is an object of reverence; others indeed adore the splendid daughter of the mountain who is half of Śiva's body; some again have glorified Gangā, (and) others take pains to praise the beloved of Kāma. They all can not have set eyes on the unblemished Kalyānadevī who for truth and other excellent qualities is famed in song.

17. Having perceived that life, fortune and the charms of youth stay no longer than the water which glitters on a lotus-leaf, that widely praised beautiful women (?) have fallen into the gross darkness of delusion, (and) that the creeper of good fame alone is everlasting, Kalyānadevī, to make that (creeper of fame) grow . . . the qualities of truth and generosity.

18. Then, having ascertained that (this) spot is guarded by the arms of strong men (?), she full of compassion, made this *Nirjara* (not growing old, never failing) well, filled with nectar like water, to sustain life.

19. She, of great renown, gave for the *Nirjara* (well) one drinking cup (?) and she built this pure bright hall for the supply of water (?).

20. She, who has brightened the earth with her fame, has made at Nandipura, a tank which resembles the ocean (and) a hall with a lofty top (?) —

21. The intelligent Ratanpāla, a son of the poet Haripāla and grandson of the poet Vatsarāja, has composed this pure eulogy.

22. In the Vikrama year measured by the seas (7), the moon (1), the fires (3) and the moon (1) has the pure minded, skilful Rāma (who) engraved it. In the year 1317 during the office (*vayāpāre*) of *rāuta* Jetna (?) during the reign of illustrious king Śrī Vīrvarmmadeva, on Thursday the 13th of the bright half of Vaiśākha.

25. Stone Inscription in Jhansi Fort

Noticed by Kielhorn in *EI*, V, Appendix, p. 33, No. 227; *IA*, XIX, p. 179; No. 128; See also *Bhandarkar's List*, No. 560; *ARIE*, 1951–2, List No. 259; *Catalogue of Lucknow State Museum*, No. E 28. Impression obtained from Lucknow State Museum, Lucknow.

This hitherto unpublished stone inscription was found at Jhansi in the wall of the Jhansi fort; it is now preserved in the State Museum at Lucknow. It is engraved on a basalt slab and consists of twenty lines, written in corrupt Sanskrit, mixed with a local dialect in Nagari script. Two short lines are cut to the proper left side above an obscene depiction of an ass and a woman drawn beneath the symbols of the Sun and Moon. A portion of the stone to the right side is broken, with the result that several letters of the last two lines have disappeared. The inscription is dated Samvat year 1318, Śrāvaṇa badi, 2 Wednesday/5 July A.D. 1262. Because of poor engraving, the reading of the text remains doubtful in many places.

The text starts with the adoration of all the chief deities of the Hindu pantheon (Brahma, Visṇu and Śiva) together with teachers and saints. The verse containing the adoration of Śiva, borrowed from Kalidasa, is given twice.[136]

The inscription states that Rājā Vīrabrahma[137] (Vīravaramma) who in one place is represented in the first person, belonged to a Candravaṁsi family, which destroyed his enemies.

The object of the inscription is to record that *rāṇaka* Abhayadeva, of the Yadava family, granted the village of Sakela to Sulhaṇa *bhaṅḍāri*, son of *rāuta* Sāḍheka.

At the end, the inscription contains an imprecation that whosoever confiscates the village, would be punished by his mother being seized and ravished by an ass. This is also presented graphically by figures of a woman and an ass. The name of the writer is not clear.

The present inscription is of some interest in that *rāṇaka* Abhayadeva, in making the grant, does not seem to have sought permission

[136] Kalidasa, *Vikramorvaśiyām*, Act 1, Verse 1, Cf. Sita Ram Chaturdevi, *Kalidasa Granthāvali* (Kasi, S 2007), p. 153.

[137] *Rājā* Vīrabrahma has been identified with *rājā* Vīravarmma of the Candella dynasty. (Cf. *DHNI*, II, p. 731). It may be noted that in this inscription Vīravarmma is given the rather low title of *rājā* whereas in his earliest inscription he bears all the royal epithets, viz., *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Paramamāheśvara Śrī Kālinjarādhipati Mahārāja Śrī Vīravarmma*, See supra Ins. no. 23.

from his suzerain, *rājā* Vīravarmma, though the latter had apparently confirmed the grant through the present inscription. It shows that the *rāṇaka* enjoyed the powers of a subordinate ruler in his principality. Moreover, this is the only inscription of the Candella dynasty containing a reference to a *rāṇaka*. Presumably the title or office of *rāṇaka* was not so prominent among the Candellas as among the Gāhaḍavālas and Paramaras, where their elevated position, i.e. of a chief feudatory, is established by inscriptions, the earliest of which belong to the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[138] It is also significant that of all the known grants under the Candella dynasty, this is the sole case of a person other than the *rājā* making a grant. The context in which another *rāuta*, Vikarva, is mentioned in the twelfth line of the inscription is not clear, since this portion of the stone is damaged. He might have been a witness to the grant, since it was usual for names of witnesses to be recorded in inscriptions dealing with grants.

The term *bhaṅḍāri* has been taken to represent treasurer.[139] Sulhaṇa who has been mentioned with this title probably served as treasurer under *rāṇaka* Abhayadeva. In other inscriptions of this dynasty, the related term '*bhanḍāragārpati*, has been used for treasurer.[140] Similar terms recorded in the inscriptions of other dynasties are *Bhaṅḍāragārika, Mahābhaṅḍāragārika, Bhaṅḍāgārādhikṛta*, etc.[141]

The present inscription forms the only evidence that the Candella *rājā* Vīravarmma ruled over a part of the Jhansi district. We know that the dominions of his predecessors *rājā* Paramarddideva (A.D. 1165–1202) and *rājā* Trailokyavarman (A.D. 1203–1250) extended to Lalitpur district in the west. Vīravarmma's own inscriptions are found at Ajayagaḍh fort (hill fort in Bundelkhand, 16 miles from Kalinjar, 47 miles from Banda, 130 miles from Allahabad), Kalinjar (Banda District), Charkhari (Hamirpur District), Dahi ($4^1/_2$ miles to the east of Bijawar in Bundelkhand) and Gurha (Orai Tehsil in Jalaun District).

[138] Cf. Sharma, *Indian Feudalism*, pp. 174–5; *EI*, XXXVI, pt. I, No. 5; *I.A.*, XVII, pp. 18–19; Lallanji Gopal, op.cit., pp. 12–14; Roma Niyogi, op.cit., pp. 162–3; B.N.S. Yadava, op.cit., pp. 253–4.

[139] Cf. Sircar, *Glossary*, pp. 49–50.

[140] *EI*, I, p. 335, Vs. 29–30.

[141] *EI*, II, p. 362, L. 14; p. 309, L. 36, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (Bombay 1869), IX, p. 219; *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, edited by V. V. Mirashi, IV, pp. 330–652.

Taking into account these sites, H.C. Ray and N.S. Bose have inferred that Vīravarmma's empire extended up to the region between rivers Sindh and Vetravati.[142] *Rājā* Vīravarmma ruled from A.D. 1254 to 1286. To date, nine inscriptions belonging to his reign have been traced; the earliest is the Charkhari inscription of V.S. 1311 A.D. 1254, and the last in V.S. 1335/A.D. 1286. The Jhansi inscription, dated V.S. 1318/A.D. 1262 falls conveniently within his reign.

I have not been able to identify the village Sakela.

Text:[143] *Plate X.*

१. नमः शिवाय। हरिहरहिरण्यगर्भेभ्यो नमः। देव्यै नमः॥ गणपतये नमः॥ स्कंदाय नमः॥ सर्व्वेभ्यो देवेभ्यो नमः॥

२. सर्व्वेभ्य आचार्येभ्यो नमः॥ सर्व्वेभ्य ऋषिभ्यो नमः॥ अपरेभ्यः सर्व्वविघ्न शान्तिकरेभ्योऽपि॥

३. वेदान्तेषुयमाहुरेकपुरुषं व्याप्तस्थितं रोदसी। यस्मिन्नीश्वर इत्यनन्यविषयः शब्दो-यथार्थक्षरिः॥

४. अंतर्यश्च मुमुक्षभिर्नियमितप्राणादिभि र्मृग्येत। स स्थाणुः स्थिर भक्ति योग सुलभो निःश्रेयसायास्तुवः॥

५. चन्द्रवंशे समुद्भव, सुभट्ट(ट)- गोष्ठ(ष्ठि) निष्ठुरो वीरोर्य (यः) सुरमुदं बलहतं हर्त्ता।

६. संसार प्रतारित विप्रुण (निपुण) मतिः। सर्व्वक्रिया प्रदक्षः पितृवर्य(र्ग्र) समाकुलो राजा वीर

७. ब्रह्म(रा)जो (ऽस्ति)॥ वीरब्रह्मराज प्रसादीकृतज्ञः सहस्त्रभुजइव भुजद्वयेन प्रब(व) लारिमदा ध(ह) र्त्ता॥

८. सुलक्षण प्ररोड (ऽ) बंशाग्रहतिलकोऽभयदेव राणकनामे हेतिजलमंडल के॥ यादव कुल तिलकः मम- (सम)-

९. जन राज्यमुद्धन्तु धीसमर्थः। राऊत साढेका सुतः सुल्हणभंडारी नामेत्य-भयदेव राणस्य

१०. (आ)श्रय समन्वितः॥ सुल्हणभंडारी केण वसापितः राणकअभयदेवेन दत्त स्व्यं सकेल नामेति ग्रामः॥

११. तथा लिंग स्थापना तडागं च वाटिकाः आत्मनोधर्म[सोडष] -----द्वये।

१२. चत्वारि ४ कारापितानि चिन्हानि लोकद्वयस्य राऊत विक्रवः

१३. ----- (साक्षी) सुल्हणकेन यतः। किंवर्ण्णनीयं वहुनोक्तं अधुनाधुरश्चेववर्नयः कुहतेकारा

[142] *DHNI*, II, p. 733; Bose op.cit., p. 111.

[143] My own reading.

१४. ----------(पर) हस्ते राणकः सन्सकेलग्रांममेनं चतुः ककंड(ट)
विसु (शु) द्धं॥ राणक अभयदेव क्र-

१५. -----(मात) प्ररोड (?) वंश जोऽन्योवा सुल्हण भंडारी तस्य राणक
अभयदेव दत्त यो

१६. (विभाज) ति हरति गृही (तं) वा गृहणाति॥ परहस्ते सकेलानामानमेंन
ग्राम (प्रददाति)

१७. ----------पशुजातिनिकृष्टो गर्द्दभ एव गृहणति तस्य मातरं गर्द्दभेण माता
तस्य लोकोक्ति (र्य) था।

१८. ----------रिद्दांन हर्त्तुमिच्छति सकेला ग्राममेनयः
मृग जाति निकृष्ट गर्द्दभागमन अर्थकं (पूर्व्वक)

१९. (वृतं गृहीतं) मातुस्तस्येव यदाहि भविष्यति
संवत् १३१८ श्रावण वदि २ बुधे दिने प्रशस्त (समये)

२०. ----------

Translation:[144]

1. Salutation to Śiva, salutation to Viṣṇu, Śiva and Brahma, salutation to Devī, salutation to Gaṇapati, salutation to Skanda, salutation to—

2. all gods, salutations to all Ācāryas, salutations to all Ṛiṣhīs, salutation to all other powers who eliminate all obstacles.

3-4. May that Śiva, of whom (the sages) speak in the Upaniṣads as the chief *Puruṣa*, who is pervading both heaven and earth, in whose respect the term *Īśvara* which denotes none else, has its syllables true to their meaning; who again is sought in their hearts by those coveting emancipation by suppressing *Prāṇa* etc., and who is easily attainable through steady devotion and contemplation; may he bestow on you the highest beatitude.

5. Born in the Candra family, powerful (and) brave, destroyer of those who sieze the pleasure of the gods. . . .

6. Whose intellect became capable after the bitter experience of the world, skilled in all activities, who possessed noble ancestors, *rājā* Vīrabrahmajña . . . is . . .

[144] As no translation has been previously published, I have given my own version here.

7. Greatful to the favour of *rājā* Vīrabrahama and who, as if endowed with a thousand arms, removed with his own two arms the arrogance of powerful enemies,

8. the ornament of the house of the Praroḍa race (?) endowed with auspicious signs, *rāṇaka* Abhayadeva by name here in this marshy land (?), prominent in the Yādava family,

9. whose intellect is capable of rescuing (guarding) my sovereignty, Sulhaṇa *bhaṅḍārī*, son of *rāuta* Sāḍheka.

10. endowed with the support of *rāṇaka* Abhayadeva, caused to be inhabited (with people) by Sulhaṇa *bhaṅḍārī*, and granted by *rāṇaka* Abhayadeva himself, the village named Sakela.

11. Thus the installation of linga, pond, garden (and well) (?) for the sake of his religion. . . . . .

12-13. and caused these four marks of both the worlds to be made *rāuta* Vikarva (is the witness) by Sulhaṇa, because, what is there to say about him, so much has been said. . . .

14. . . . in the hands, *rāṇaka* (placed) the village, complete within its four boundaries. . . .

15-17. If, anyone descending from *rāṇaka* Abhayadeva and born in Praroḍa family or other—this village called Sakela and granted by *rāṇaka* Abhayadeva to Sulhaṇa *bhaṅḍārī* whosoever (divides among others), usurps and takes what has been given away or further given away into the hands of others, (his) mother will be ravished by an ass, the lowest of animals, as the proverb runs.

18-19. . . . whosoever this village named Sakela . . . for the sake of cohabiting with an ass, the lowest of animals . . . when it will happen . . . of his mother along . . . Dated Samvat year 1318, in the month of Śrāvaṇa, on Wednesday on the second day of the dark half . . . on auspicious . . . .

20. . . . .

26. Stone Inscription in Chandapur in Lalitpur District

Reported in *Bhandarkar's List*, No. 572; Hargreaves *PRASI, NC*, 1915-16, No. 17, p. II.

This inscription was found in Chandapur village in Lalitpur district and consists of three lines in Sanskrit in Nagari script. It is dated v.s. 1325 Āṣāḍa Sudi 3 Thursday/A.D. 1268. The text is not available.

27. Stone Inscription at Ajayagaḍh Fort

Edited by Cunningham, *ASR*, XXI, 1883–4, p. 51, Plate F. XIV.

Engraved on the wall of a temple at Ajayagaḍh fort, this inscription consists of three lines in Sanskrit in Nagari script. It is dated Samvat year 1325/A.D. 1268.

It records that Abhayadeva, son of the (*ṭhakkura*) Bhojaka of the Vatsa *gotra*, offered his adoration to *Īśvara* (god) during the reign of Vīravarmma. Kielhorn suggests that this Bhojaka should be identified with Bhojuka who was killed by Vāseka (Vāse) in the reign of Trailokyavarman.[145] The use of the abbreviation *ṭha*, presumably for *ṭhakkura* should be noted.

Text:

औ अश्वुवैद्य (?) ठ भोजिकस्य पुत्र अ—
भयदेव ईश्वर नित्यं प्रणमति ।। वीर-
वर्म्म राज संवत १३२५, वत्स गोत्रः ।

Translation:

Oṁ . . . Abhayadeva, son of the *ṭhakkura* Bhojaka of Vatsa gotra salutes daily to *Īśvar* (god). During the reign of Vīravarman in the Samvat year 1325.

28. Stone Inscription at Agra

Reported in *ARIE*, 1964–5, List No. B 652. Impression of the inscription obtained from the Chief Epigraphist's Office, Mysore. Text printed here for the first time.

[145] *EI*, I; p. 334, v.s. 16–19; *DHNI*: II, p. 729: Bose, op. cit., p. 107; See infra inscription, no. 41.

This stone inscription was found in Arhera village in Tehsil Kiroli, in Agra district. It consists of three lines in Nagari script and is Dated v.s. 1330, 4th day . . . on Monday/A.D. 1272 (the month and fortnight are not recorded).

The inscription mentions a certain Surapāla of Rahera village in whose memory the stone seems to have been set up. This is indicated by a human figure lying on its back, carved above the engraved text. The inscription was written by Jasapāla.

The name of the village where the inscribed stone has been found (Arhera) preserves fairly well the name recorded in the inscription, which is Rahera.

Text:

औ सिद्धम्। रहरे ग्रामतः संवत् १३३०
आ (तौ) सुरपाल सौम दिने ४
लि (खि) तं ---------- जसपाल

Translation:

Oṁ, hail! Surapāla of Rahera village (set up this stone in his own memory) on Samvat 1330 on the fourth day, Monday, written by . . . Jasapāla.

29. Jain Image Inscription at Ajayagaḍh Fort

Edited by V.S. Pathak in *Bharati*, Bulletin of the College of Indology, BHU, Banaras, 1956-7, I, no. I, p. 45; reported in *ARIE*, 1969-70, List No. B 183.

Engraved on the pedestal of a broken stone image, found in the ruins of the Shantinath temple near the Ajayapāla tank at Ajayagaḍh fort, this inscription comprises three lines of Sanskrit in Nagari script. It is dated in the dark fortnight of the month of Phālguna of v.s. 1331 Wednesday/January A.D. 1215. The day is noted but the *tithi* is lost. The pedestal is broken at the right end.

The inscription contains a verse in praise of Muni Kundakunda who belonged to the Mulasaṁgha, an important sect of the Jains in the south. The sect was established by Kundakundācārya as early as the first century BC.[146] The present inscription records the

[146] See P.B. Desai, *Jainism in South India and some Epigraphs* (Jivaraja Jain Granthmalas No. 6, Sholapur, 1957), pp. 55–6.

installation of the image by Ācārya Kumudacandra. It also mentions the name of Ācārya Dhanakīrittī. It seems that Kumudacandra also belonged to the Mulasaṁgha and was a follower (*anvaya*) of Kundakunda.

In Ajayagaḍh itself six dedicatory inscriptions of the Jains, ranging from v.s. 1331 to 1336, have been found.[147] This shows the considerable influence of the Jains in the area during this period.

Text (read by V.S. Pathak):

१. संवत् १३३१ वर्षे फाल्गुन वदि बुधै
श्री मूल संघे प्रधित (प्रथित) प्रभा (व)
२. मुनि कुंद कुंद। श्रीमद्वीर व (र्म्म) देव
राज्ये आचार्य श्री धनकी (र्त्ति:) ----------
३. आचार्य कुमुदचन्द्रै प्रतिष्ठ (ष्ठा)

Translation:[148]

1. In the Samvat year 1331 of the dark fortnight of Phālguna, on Wednesday, in the renowned and influential Śrī Mulasaṁgha
2. The sage Kundakunda, in the reign of Śrī Vīravarmadeva, Ācārya Śri Dhanakīrttī.
3. . . . has been set up by Ācārya Kumudacandra.

30. Jain Temple Inscription of Deogarh Fort in Jhansi District

Photo-plate of the inscription given to me personally by Dr Bhanu Chand Jain, Lecturer in Postgraduate College, Ratlam, M.P. Text or translation not published so far.

This inscription is engraved on the pedestal of Upādhaya Parmeṣṭhī[149] in the Jain temple of Deogarh fort (Jhansi District). It is written in Sanskrit in Nagari script and is dated v.s. 1333, on

[147] Reported in *ARIE*, 1969–70, List No. B 182, B 184.

[148] V.S. Pathak's translation has been followed.

[149] *Pañcaparmeṣṭhi* consists of the following five dignitaries: Jain, Siddha, Ācārya, Upadhyā and Sādhu. Upādhyā Parmeṣṭhi is one of the *Pañcaparmeṣṭhi* (P.B. Desai, *Jainism in South India*, p. 381).

the dark fortnight of the eleventh day of the month Jyeṣṭha, Sunday/ 17 May A.D. 1276.

The inscription records the names of Jain Ācārya Śrī Kanakacandradeva and his disciple who belonged to *Balātakāra Gaṇa*[150] of Nandiṣaṁgh.[151]

Text:

संवत् १३३३ ज्येष्ठ वदि ११ खौ श्री नन्दि संघ
बलात्कार गणे आचार्य श्री कनकचन्द्रदेव तस्य
शिष्य लक्ष्मी चन्द्र देव तस्य हेम चन्द्र देव।
रामचन्द्र तस्यमाता सागर सिरि तस्य चेली सालसिरि
उदय सिरि छात्रामदेव प्रणमति नित्य सरधानमत
सुत हुसौ प्रणमति नित्यं

Translation:

In the Samvat year 1333 in the dark half of the eleventh day of the month Jyeṣṭha, on Sunday Ācārya Kanakacandradeva, his disciple, Lakṣmicandradeva, and his pupil Hemacandradeva, belonging to Balātakāra, Gaṇa of Nandisaṁgha, Rāmacandra and his mother, Sāgarasiri, her disciple Sālasiri, Udayasiri and Chātrāmdeva used to bow daily; Husau, the son of Sardhānamat, also saluted daily.

31. Image Inscription at Ajayagaḍh Fort

Reported in *ARIE*, 1969–70, List No. B 191.

This inscription is engraved on the top portion of the image of a female deity on a rock near the second gate of Ajayagaḍh fort. It is written in Sanskrit in Nagari script and dated V.S. 1334 on the dark half of Phālguna on Wednesday/21 January A.D. 1277. The text is not available.

It mentions queen Harisiddhdevi and the names of her family members, Paramāra, Vaikuṇṭha and Gaṅgādhara.

[150] *Balātakāra Gaṇa* is one of the *Gaṇas* of the Digambar sect. Muni Uttama Kamal Jain, *Jaina Sects and Schools*, p. 84.

[151] It originated from the Mulasaṁgha and its founder was Māghanandīn. That is why most of the monks belonging to it have the suffix 'nandīn' to their name. Ibid., p. 128.

32. Rock Inscription at Ajayagaḍh Fort

Reported in *ARIE*, 1969–70, List No. B 192. *AR*, *ASI*, 1935–6, p. 92.

Found on a rock near the Tirhavani-darwaja of Ajayagaḍh fort, this inscription is written in Sanskrit in Nagari script. It is dated v.s. 1334 on the dark of the month Vaiśākha/21 March A.D. 1277. The text is not published.

The inscription records that Suhaḍadeva, the great grandson of *ṭhakkura* Vidana of Jayapuradurgga, had a number of images carved of deities such as Kedra, Pāravati, Viṛiṣabha, Tripura Kāmakhya and Durgā, including one of his own.

33. Jain Temple Inscription of Ajayagaḍh Fort

Edited by V.S. Pathak in *Bharati*, Bulletin of the College of Indology (BHU, Banaras, 1956-7), p. 47.

The inscription is engraved on the pedestal of a huge stone image of the Jain Tirthankara Śāntinatha which is buried knee-deep in the ruins of a Jain temple in the middle of the fort near the Ajayapāla tank. The inscription covers a space of 3'5" × 1'8" and consists of four lines in Sanskrit with a mixture of Apabraṁśa. A few words have been effaced at the end of the third line. It is dated in the Samvat year 1337, of the 13th day of the bright fortnight of Caitra month of Monday/27 March A.D. 1279.

The inscription records the worship of an image of Jain Tirthankara Śāntinatha by Sādhu Sīḍhala, who was the son of Sādhu Māsala and his wife Sāhal Devaha and their son Soḍhala Dāmodara. They belonged to the Gahapati branch of the Jains. The Gahapati branch is also mentioned in Jain inscription at Khajuraho.[152]

Text (as read by V.S. Pathak):

१. स्वस्ति औं नमो वीतरागाय। श्री मद्वीरवर्म्म देव विजय राज्ये संवत
१३३५ समये चैत्र १३ सुदि सोमे जयपुरदुर्ग्गे गहपति।
२. साधु श्री मासल तस्य सुत साधुसीढल तस्य भार्या साहलदेवह। तस्य सुत (ताः)
सोढलं दामोदर गंगाधर जसोधरा नित्यं।
३. वेत परोप कृतिकर्म्मठ मन्युदाष (स)

[152] *DHNI*, II, p. 683.

व्यवहार तार विधुरा मधुरा च वाणी। मात्रं सदा जिनपद प्रणति प्रणति पावित्र्य पात्र मंगल च वित्त ----------

४. (य) स्य ॥१॥ सीढ़ साधु पिता ज (य) स्य देवकी जननी साधु ना सोढले नाम शान्ति नाथ (२) तस्य पुत्र वामदेव: नित्य प्रणमति।

Translation:[153]

1. Svasti, Oṁ. Salute to one who is free from attachment. In the victorious reign of Śrī Vīravarmmadeva, on the 13th day of the bright fortnight of the month of Caitra of the year 1335, Monday, in the fort of Jayapura (of the) Gahapati (sect).

2. Sādhu Śrī Māsala, his son Sādhu Sīḍhala, his wife Sāhala Devaḥa, his son Soḍhala Dāmodara, Gaṅgādhara, Jasodhara daily. . . .

3. He was very active in benevolent work and his sweet speech was free from angry expressions. He was always prepared to lie low at the feet of the Jina (and thus) he was purified by devotion.

4. Sādhu Soḍhala whose father was Sādhu Sīḍha, and mother Devaki, and again his (next) son Vāmdeva (all of them) daily offer their homage to the image of Śāntīnātha.

34. Pillar and Wall Inscriptions at Sītā Rāmjī Kā Mandir in Soron

(A) Pillar Inscription

Reported in *ARIE* 1957–8, List No. C 283.

Found on the pillar of the maṇḍapa of Sītā Rāmjī Kā Mandir in Soron Tehsil in Etah district, this inscription consists of nine lines written in Sanskrit in Nagari script. It is dated V.S. 1335/A.D. 1227. The text has not been published.

The inscription records the death of *nāyaka* Kālhe, son of Mahādevapāla, at Svargdvisika or Sukrakshetra.[154] These are evidently

[153] V.S. Pathak's translation has been followed.

[154] 'The original name of Soron was Ukalakshetra but after the demon Hiranyakaśyapa had been slain here by Viṣṇu in his boar incarnation, the name was changed to *Sukarakshetra* or 'place of the wild boar'. Nevill, *Etah District Gazetteer*, p. 225.

the names of the priests of the temple, who got their names engraved along with their inscriptions.

(B) Pillar and Wall Inscriptions left by pilgrims.

Reported by Cunningham *ASR*, I, p. 267. Language and script not stated, but presumably in (mixed?) Sanskrit and Nagari characters. One of these is No.86.

There are no less than thirty-eight pilgrims' records on the walls and pillars of the Sītā Rāmjī Kā Mandir, with dates from (the Samvat equivalents of ?) A.D. 1168 to 1511. Cunningham uses these records to reconstruct the history of the temple. 'The earliest date after the Muhammadan conquest is A.D. 1241 and from that time down to A.D. 1290 there are no less than 15 dated records showing that Soron continued to be a much frequented place of pilgrimage during the whole period of the Ghori dynasty which ended in A.D. 1289. But during the rule of the next two dynasties, the Khiljis and Tughlaks, there is only one inscription dated in A.D. 1375, in the reign of Firuz... (It) seems only reasonable to conclude that the people were deterred from making their usual pilgrimages by the persecution of their Muhammadan rulers. The next record is dated in A.D. 1429 and from that down to A.D. 1511 there are sixteen dated inscriptions, but as no less than thirteen of this number belong to the reign of Bahlol Lodi, I infer that the rule of the Syad dynasty was not favourable to Hindu pilgrimages. I infer also that the temple must have been destroyed during the reign of the intolerant Sikandar Lodi, because the series of inscriptions closes with A.D. 1511 or just six years before the end of his reign.'

35. Jain Image Inscription at Chakranagar in Bharthana Tehsil (Etawah District)

Reported in *ARIE*, 1959–60, List No. C 487. Also noticed in *PRASI, NC*, 1923–4, No. 8. Impression obtained from the Chief Epigraphist's Office, Mysore. Text is given here for the first time.

The inscription is engraved on the pedestal of a Jain image at Chakranagar in Bharthana Tehsil Etawah District and consists of two lines in Sanskrit in Nagari script. It is dated Samvat year 1335 on the 5th day of the month of Phālguna on Monday/20 February A.D. 1279. The inscription is partly damaged.

The inscription refers to the Mulsaṁgha, a Jain school, to which the Golarāṭak sect also belonged.[155] Bhojadeva is also mentioned in inscription no. 36 (which is of the same place and date).

Text:

१. समत् (संवत्) १३३५ फाल्गुन (न) सुदि ८ सोमवारे।। मूल संघे
२. गोला रा (टा) न्व्य साधु भोजदेवाभार्या सिया सुत राजदे दूव।।१।।

Translation:

1. In the Samvat year 1335 on the 8th day of bright half of the month Phālguna on Monday in Mulsaṁgha.
2. Sādhu Bhojadeva, his wife Siyā and his son, Rājdedūva, followers (*anavya*) of the Golarāṭak (sect).

36. Jain Image Inscription of Charkanagar Bharthana Tehsil (Etawah District)

Reported in *ARIE*, 1959–60, No. C 488; *PRASI*, *NC*, 1923–4. Impression obtained from the Chief Epigraphist's Office, Mysore. Text is given here for the first time.

This inscription was found on the pedestal of a Jain image in Charkanagar of Bharthana Tehsil, Etawah District. In the middle of the second line, there is the figure of a male buffalo representing the twelfth Tīrthankara, Vasupujya.[156] Written in Sanskrit in Nagari script, the inscription is dated Samvat 1335, 8th day of the bright half of the month Phālguna on Monday/20 February A.D. 1279. At the beginning of the third line, two or three words are damaged.

The inscription mentions Sādhu Kīkadeva and others belonging to the Golārātakanvaya sect of the Mulasaṁgha. (For Bhojadeva also see inscription no. 35).

[155] See Muni Uttam Kamal Jain, *Jain Sects and School*, pp. 126–8.
[156] Mrs Sinclair Stevenson, *The Heart of Jainism*, (Bombay 1915), p. 54.

Text:

१. समत् (संवत) १३३५ फाल्गुन सुदि ८ सोमवारे
२. श्री मूलसंघे (figure of the male buffalo)
गोलाराटाकान्व्य साधु कीकदेव भार्या पैता सुत उदयदेव
३. भोजदेव ---------- देव अस्यभार्या सोभा सुत गंगादेव, नीवदेव, अभयदेव, अमरदेव, सिव देव

Translation:

1. In the Samvat year 1335, on the 8th day of the bright half of the month Phālguna on Monday,

2-3. In tne Mulasaṁgha . . . Sādhu Kīkadeva, his wife, Peṭā, sons Udaideva and Bhojadeva . . . his wife Sobhā and sons Gaṅgā-deva, Nīva-deva, Abhaya-deva, Amar-deva, and Sivadeva of the Golārātakanvaya sect.

37. Mohoba Copper-Plate Inscription

Reported by Cunningham, *ASR*, II, p. 455. Text of the plate is not published, nor are its present whereabouts known. There is no translation.

Cunningham obtained this copper-plate from a Colonel Ellis. It is dated Samvat year 1337/A.D. 1280 and is written in Nagari script. Col. Ellis had read the rulers names given in the copper-plate as follows:

Kuldo-Barm Deo
Parmar Deo
Trilok Barm Deo
Sandin Barm Deo

Cunningham, however, read the names differently:

Yadava Varma Deo
Paramarddi Deo
Śrī Trailokya Varma Deo
Śrī Sondhira Varma Deo

The last name, Śrī Sondhira Varma Deo, is neither from literary sources nor from inscriptions. However, Colonel Ellis[157] mentioned

[157] Cunningham, *ASR*, II, p. 457.

to Cunningham that a land grant had been issued by this ruler in V.S. 1337/A.D. 1280. Even so, the existence of this rulers' authority in the area in 1280 poses a problem since it is known that Vīravarmma Deo ruled from A.D. 1250 to 1286.[158]

38. Ajayagaḍh Rock Inscription

Reported in *Bhandarkar's List* No. 599; *ARIE*, 1969-70, B. 190, Cunningham, *ASR*, XXI, p. 52, pl. No. 9, XIV. Noticed in *AR*, *ASI*, 1935–6, p. 91. Deciphered text is published here for the first time, along with a translation.

Found on a rock near the figure of Gaṇeśa at Ajayagaḍh. This inscription consists of twenty-one lines written in Sanskrit in Nagari script. It is dated in both words and figures, in the bright half of the month Māgha on the 13th, Monday in V.S. 1337/ 14 April, A.D. 1281. The inscription appears to be partially damaged, and Cunningham's plate itself is not clear in parts.

It records the installation of an image of Gaṇeśa called *Dānī Vināyaka* by Gaṇapati for his own merit in the reign of Vīravarmma. Dāmodara and his brother, Rajapati, are mentioned as the sons of Gaṇapati; other members of the family, who served under the Candella rulers, are also named and are given designations such as *nāyaka* and *saciva*.

Text:[159]

औं गणपतये नमः। यद्दन्त (?) दान समये तिलकं
वमान ---------- व्याकूल
भेव विराज अस्या पिता माता ------- वसुंधराश्च ----------
विलोक्य विनायकं
---------- पातु ॥१॥ अत्र लक्ष्मीधरो नाम गौडक
तस्य भूषणां कीर्तिवर्मनस्व ------ ॥२॥ यशः ----------
वर्त्तिनः श्रियो श्री सुलक्षण वर्म्म।
ख्याति ----------
नायकम ॥३॥ सचिव श्री वाक्तक्ति ------ श्री --------- विजयं

[158] N. S. Bose, op.cit., p. 102; *DHNI*, II, pp. 729–33.

[159] My own reading from the plate given by Cunningham, *ASR*, II, p. 52, Pl. No. 9, XIV.

जय वर्म्मण ॥४॥ पाहुणो
----------पृथ्वी वर्म्म ---------- माल्हण ॥५॥
---------- रिपु
---------- त्रैलोक्य वर्म्मणः ॥८॥ जगति ख्यातो
---------- श्री वीर वर्म्मण राज्ये विनायको मणि
----------र्ं
कारिणी ॥१०॥ गणपते ---------- पुत्रस्य
दामोदर रजपति ---------- णकरः ॥११॥ मूर्ति

---------॥१२॥ दाणी विनायको संयुक्तव्य गणपतश्चु कीर्त्तिये।
दाणी विनायकताम् मूर्तेः पठन्तु पंडिताः ॥१३॥ सागरांनल
वेदेन्दुन्मुक्ते संवत्सरे वर्षे माघ मासि (मासे) ----------
शिते पक्षे त्रयोद-
श्या विधो दिने ॥१४॥ संवत् १३३७ माघ सुदि
१३ सोमे।

Translation:

Salute to Sri Gaṇeśa ..... at the time of (extending) charity ..... parents .... at this earth ..... Lakṣmidhara, Gauḍa ..... His ornament Kīrttivarmma ..... Sri Sulkshaṇa-varmma ..... *nāyaka* ..... *saciva* ..... Śrī Jayavarmma ..... Pṛthvīvarmma ..... Trailokyavarmma ..... During the reign of Śrī Vīra-varmma Dāṇī Vināyaka ..... Gaṇapati's son Dāmodar and Rajapati ..... The image, ... became wise after reciting (verses of adoration of the) image of Dāṇi Vinā-yaka. Dated in the Samvat year, *sāgara* (seas) *Vedas*, fire and moon in the bright half of the month of Māgha on the 13th day, Monday, Samvat year 1337. Māgha Sudi 13 Monday.

39. Rock Inscription Near Kalinjar Fort

Reported by Führer, *Monumental Antiquities*, p. 152.

The Pātāl Gaṅgā is a large deep-well or reservoir cut into the rock. It contains some inscriptions, the oldest of which is written in

Sanskrit in Nagari script and dated Samvat year 1339/A.D. 1282. It is evidently the record of a pilgrimage.

Other records of Samvat 1500/A.D. 1443 and Samvat 1540/ A.D. 1483 are also mentioned by Führer. There is an inscription from the reign of emperor Humayun in Persian, dated A.H. 936/A.D. 1526; and one from Samvat 1640/A.D. 1583, during the reign of Akbar.

40. Rock Inscription at Ajayagaḍh Fort

General Stewart presented this inscription to the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Edited by Prinsep in *JASB* (1837), VI, pt. I, pp. 881–7, Plate No. XLVIII; also edited by H.L. Srivastava in *EI*, XXVIII, pp. 98–100 with plate. See *Bhaṇdarkar's List* No. 620; described in the catalogue of the *Asiatic Researches* XV, as a stone slab from Ajayagaḍh in Bundelkhand with a Sanskrit inscription and also as 'a stone bull from Kalinjar with a Sanskrit inscription'.

Found at Ajayagaḍh fort on a long stone slab measuring $4^1/_2 \times 2^3/_4$ ft, this inscription consists of thirty-nine verses in Sanskrit in Nagari script. The letters are deeply cut and well-formed. As regards the formation of individual letters, there are certain unusual features which should be noted. It is difficult to distinguish between the signs for *c* and *v*. The *anusvāra* is represented by a small circle but some cracks above the letters are often mistaken for it. The final *m* is frequently substituted by the *anusvāra*. The sign for *avagraha* has been used only twice in lines 12 and 17. As regards orthography, *v* is generally substituted for *b*, cf. *vibhrat* line 1, *vahu* line 14; and *ś* for *s* and vice versa, cf. *vāśu* line, *vaśati*, line 5, *viśāla*, line 4. The consonant following *r* is reduplicated in most of the cases.

It is dated both in figures and words: V.S. 1345/A.D. 1288. The month is specified as Vaiśākha, but the actual date and day of the week are lost at the end of the verse.

The inscription records the construction of a temple at Jayadurga and the installation of an image of Keśava by Nānā (a minister of Bhojavarman), for the salvation of his ancestors.

The inscription begins with the adoration of Vāsudeva. After a salutation to Murārī in the first three stanzas, the incarnations of Viṣṇu in the forms of the Tortoise, the Boar, Narasimgh, Vāmana,

Paruśrāma and Rāma are invoked for blessing. Thereafter the genealogy of Nānā is given as follows:

Kaśyapa

I

Kuśa	Sunabha
I	
Hāruka	
I	
Jalhaṇa	
I	
Gaṅgādhara	
I	
Kamale	
I	
Maleka	
I	

I	I	I	I
Padamsiṁha	Ratanasiṁha	Jagasiṁha	Kumarsiṁha

Nānā introduces himself as the minister of Bhojavarman, the penultimate king of the Candella dynasty. Bhojavarman was the son and successor of Vīravarman. He was followed by Hammiravarman.

The ancestors of Nānā are reputed to have been the hereditary ministers of the Candellas. Nānā belonged to the Vāstavya[160] kāyastha family: Hāruka, a member of this family, had earned the surname Vāstāvya for the first time.[161]

Of the place-names mentioned in the inscription, Kausāmya-

[160] The Ajayagaḍh inscription of Bhojavarman mentions that the Kāyastha clan of the Vāstavya originated from Vāstu, one of thirty-six towns which were purified by the fact that they were inhabited by scribes. *EI*, I, p. 331.

[161] Other references to the Vāstavya vaṁsa are found in the Malhora inscription of Chedi year 919/A.D. 1167; the Sahet-Mahet inscription of v.s. 1176; (*ASI*, New Series, I, pp. 70–3) and in the Mahoba inscription of v.s. 1240. Cunningham, *ASR*, XXI, pl. XXI–XXIII.

pura seems to be identical with the famous Kausambi or Kosam, situated in Allahabad District. Jayadurga and Jayapura are almost certainly other names of Ajayagaḍh.

The *praśasti* was composed by the poet Amara and engraved by kāyastha Parṁsauhai son of *ṭhakkura* Ayo. Prinsep's reading differs in many places from that of H.L. Srivastava. It is Srivastava's reading which has been followed here.

Text:

१. औ नमो(भ)गवते वाशु (सु) देवाय[162]

प्रायः प्रोढेन्दिरायाः प्रचुरतर सुखाश्लेषमक्लेषकायो वि (बि) भ्रद्विभ्रान्त दृ[ष्टि] द्रुतचकितरतोत्कीर्णपूर्णानुरागः। उद्यद्भ्री (च्छ्री) वत्सदीप द्युति रभसरसोल्लासितानंगहेतिर्देवः श्रीविश्वमूर्तिदितितनयरिपु विभ्रम्वो (मं वो) [र्वि (बि)]भर्त्तु ॥१॥ [Sragdhārā]

२. पिण्याकपिण्डमिव चण्डरूचिम्मुरारिग्गोवर्द्धनाच(ल)मलंकृलवान्कराग्रे[163]। प्रेमोत्कवल्लव[1] जनीजनिताद्भुत (श्रीः) श्रेयांसिवोदिशतु गोगणदृश्यमानः॥२॥ [Vasantatilakā]

आखेट[2]नर्म्मललितं विदधन्ह(द्ध)रिर्वो[3] गोपी कठोर[4] कुच गुं (कुं)ठित[5] शायक-

३. श्रीः। कामातुरोत्तर[6] कुरंग वधू[विला]सा[7]न्नु(न्धु)न्कूतूहल-तयाधियमादधातु[8] ॥३॥ [Vasantatilakā]

[9]मज्जत्समुज्जवल तनुर्भवभार भेदीयो वेदवृन्दमुदुधाविद[10]मुज्जहार।
सं(शं)खासुरा शुहरणः[11] किलमीनरूपी देवः श्रियः पतिरसं(घं)
भवतां विहन्तु ॥४॥ [Vasantatilakā]
संवर्त्तविन्यस्ततटे

[162] This line is omitted by Prinsep.

[163] Prinsep's reading: (Here after *P* is indicated for Prinsep). असौकृतवान,

P.1 वल्लर P.4 करोर P.7 विपक्षात् P.10 दुग्ध

P.2 श्रीस्वेद, P.5 गुण्ठित P.8 आतनोतु P.11 सुहरण

P.3 व्वों P.6 कामातुरान्तर P.9. मज्जत्स्थ

४. जलानां रेमे निधौ यः खलु योगयुक्तया। जगद्गतिः संस्थितचिद्रुचिश्रीः स वो विभूर्ति कमठः करोतु ॥५॥ [Upajāti]
क्रोडीकृत्य विसा(शा)ल निष्ठुन्तरां द्रष्टां वहुन्नद्धहो मूर्तिम्बि(र्त्ति वि)[1]-
स्तृतधर्म्मकर्म्मनियतिर्वाशो(सो)[2] धियां माधवः। औग्रात्पिण्डितपंकपेशलरूचि-
म्बि[3](चि वि) श्वंभरा-

५. मुद्दधे सं(शं)वो[4] वर्द्धयतां स विश्ववश(स)ति[5]र्नित्याधिनाशोदिताः(तः)
॥६॥ [Śardulavikriḍitā]
सुमेरूश्रृंगाग्रनिविष्टरश्मेः[6] सहस्रमानोः श्रियमादानः। सुदानवांतो-
त्तलितैः[7] कराग्रेः स वो नृसिंहो दुरितं भिनत्तु ॥७॥ [Upendravajrā]
शुक्राक्षिविक्षेपमिषाद्रिपूणां विरूपयन्नीतिमिवामिताभः। व[8] (ब)-

६. लि प्रमादोद्धव[9] वर्द्धमानः स वामनो में(वो)भ्यदयं ददातु ॥४॥ [Upajāti]
द्विजकरे क्षितिमक्षत[10] शासनोदधदनुद्धवक्रदिपुयोषिताम्[11]। जययशोभवनो।
जयति प्रधीः स परशुः खलु[12] राम इति श्रुतः ॥९॥ [Drutavilambita]
समुन्नितिर्यस्य[13] पराक्रमाणां महाजने पुण्यंजनोपहारी प्रमोदजलान्तनुतेतनुत्री-

७. कृता[14] विपद्भयः स धिनोतु रामः ॥१०॥ [Upendravajrā]
आसीन्महर्षिः सकिलादिवेदी छन्दो[15]विदां काश्यप इत्युदारः। यं जातवेदो
विधिभिः सुराणां संतृप्तये[16] हन्त विधिः ससर्ज(र्ज्जः?) ॥११॥ [Indravajrā]
कुशसुनाभ इति प्रथितौ सुताविहव(ब)भूव तुरस्य महात्मनः। अपि

P.1 मूर्त्तिर्व्वि
P.2 व्वासो
P.3 पंकपिशलरूचिर्व्वि
P.4 मे
P.5 वसति
P.6 शुभ्रनृशृङ्गाम्बनिविष्ट रश्मिः
P.7 वप्रोत्तुनितैः
P.8 ब
P.9 प्रमादादवं
P.10 माकृत
P.11 द्धतकृद्रिपुयोधिताम्
P.12 किल
P.13 नास्त्यायति
P.14 जालं तनुते बहुतीकृतो
P.15 जनो
P.16 सतृप्तये यज्ञ

तमोहरणे तदनुत्तमं शशिरविविद्धयमंत्र दिवोगत्[1] ॥१२॥ [Drutavilambitā]

८. कुशस्य कौशाम्यपुरे निवासो व (ब) भूव पुण्योन्नचारूमूर्त्तेः[2]। अवाप्य
साचिव्य मनुमुष्यमौख्य[3] तत्र स्थिति कोपि पुमान्व (न्ब) भार ॥१३॥[Upajāti]
सकोपि कायस्थतया प्रतीतोंमनीषिभिर्मानितशेमुखी (षी) कः[4]। सद्गोत्र-
मादीनवमाशयज्ञ[5]स्तत्काश्यपी भूतमलंचकार ॥१४॥ [Upajāti]
गवां प्रपंचेषु[6] तनौ शुभयां सुमन्त्रमार्ग्गा

९. चरणेषु नित्यं (त्यम्) श्रियो निवाशा (सा) दभजस्त (त्स) वंशो[7]
वास्तव्यताम् प्रतिरूपकोटिम्[8] ॥१५॥ [Upajāti]
जह्वैमनश्चारूतया जनीनां महीक्षितां दण्डनयांकुरैश्च। सुविद्यया
धीर कुलस्य धीमान्हारुकनामाभवदत्र जन्तुः ॥१६॥ [Upajāti]
लिपिकर[9] कुल कोटेः कोटरस्यागमनां सुकृत विटिपिमूलस्याश्रयस्य द्युती

१०. नां (नाम्)। अभवदमिततेजा जल्हणस्तस्य सूनुः सुरगुरूरिव
भूमौ भूपतीनां क्रियार्थम्[10] ॥१७॥ [Mālinī]
ततो गुणानां सनिधि विधिज्ञो गङ्गाधरोजायतमानव (ब) न्धुः[11]।
यस्मिन्मणी भूत विसु (शु) द्धदेहे तमोगतिनश्रिय[12]मासासाद ॥१८॥ [Upajāti]
कमलापति पाद पंकजे हृदय[13]वि (बि) भद्रनिन्द्यमानसः।
कमले[14] इति नाम कोमलं-

११. सुकृतक्षालितकाय सुन्दरः ॥१९॥ [Viyoganī]
ततो जन्यजनीकाशो माले कोमल विग्रहः। मालाभूतमिदं यत्र गुण-
वृंदं विदिद्युते ॥२०॥ [Anuṣṭubh]
पद्मसिंहो रत्नसिंहो जगसिंहः सुतोत्तमाः। जाताः कुमरसिंहश्च[15]
चत्वारस्य (श्च) तुरास्ततः ॥२१॥ [Anuṣṭubh]
तेषु[16] संख्यावतां श्रेष्ठो रत्नसिंहो महामनाः। अजायत-

P.1 रविशशिद्वियमुद्धततामस
P.2 मूर्तिः
P.3 अगधशक्तिः समनुष्यमौख्यं
P.4 सेमुशीकः
P.5 तं
P.6 प्रपांगोष्ठ
P.7 जयत्प्रवंशों
P.8 कोद्रि
P.9 जह्वः
P.10 क्रियार्हः
P.11 मानवेन्द्रः
P.12 यस्मिन्नृपेभूरितशक्रवृत्तेमन्येतिनोकश्रिय
P.13 न्द्रद्वयं
P.14 कमाल
P.15 श्च
P.16 तेषां

१२. जितात्भू(त्मा)नस्त्रीन्सुता[1] नमितौ जसः ॥२२॥ [Anuṣṭubh]
ततपूर्व्वोऽपूर्ब्व[2] मूर्त्ति प्रतिकृत विमदो[3]भूत्सुमैकः प्रवीणः
प्रीति प्रजाः (ज्ञा) रूचीनां गणपतिपरो वेश्म[4] विस्फीत कायः।
धामज्ञानोद्धवानामविहत महिमाननामोन्नतांगो। रेजे राजीवचक्षुः
क्षतिपतिंसमिति प्राप्तमानानुभा-

१३. वः ॥२३॥ [Sragdharā]
दिग्जनीकर्णकुहर विश्रान्त यशसान्तु ते[5]। चन्द्रात्रेयनरेन्द्राणां सचिवत्वयुपागतः
॥२४॥ [Anuṣṭubh]
तयोः सविज्ञान विधिर्म्मनीषी मनोरमो नान इति प्रतीतः। श्री भोजवर्म्माण-
मुपेत्य नाथ[6] स्वम (न्त्र) मित्रोदय माततान ॥२५॥ [Upajāti]

१४. प्रियंवदत्वात्प्रमदा मदानां (जनानां) श (स) भ्यात्मक—
त्वाज्जगतीश्वराणां। पुमानयं प्राणतया गुणीयोनानाभिधानं सफलीचकारः
॥२६॥ [Upajāti]
यस्मिन्गुणाधारतया प्रदिष्टे विकृष्यमाणेनयकुम्भमुच्चैः।
नवभिषेकामिव राजलक्ष्मी प्रभुश्चिरं कामयेत फलाय ॥२७॥ [Upajāti]
तदा व (ब) हु प्रेंखलं कंबु (बु) जालं पयोनिधिं यस्य यशोविसारि[7]।
अमंडयन्मण्ड—

१५. नसारशोभाधिकेन रूपेणमनोनुहारि ॥२८॥ [Upajāti]
विहारिणी यस्य दिगंगंनाभि समंसमृद्धा श्रुतवृतवृत्तिः। मरूद्वधूमिः किल
कर्ण पूरी कृता मुनीभ्योमुदमादधाति ॥२९॥ [Upendravajrā]
नवेन्दु संकाशतनु प्रकाशः प्रकाशयं (यन्)[8] सत्कुमुदो (दौ) धमुच्चैः। मनो-
रमत्वान्यहनीयदेहः पृथ्वीध—

१६. रस्त त्तनयोरराज ॥३०॥ [Upendravajrā]
अवेत्यपोतं भवनीररासौ (शौ)

P.1 श्रीपूता
P.2 उत्पूर्वोपूर्व्व
P.3 विनयो
P.4 विश्व
P.5 यशसास्तुतः
P.6 नाश्वं
P.7 वसारि
P.8 सदा स यज्ञः

समुत्तितीर्षो (र्षु) र्दयितं श्रियोमु (मुम्)। स मुक्तये पुण्यतः[1] रानुभावादारा-
धनीं वृतिमलं करोति ॥३१॥] [Upajāti]
समीक्ष्य संसारसुखं पटीयान(।)पातरम्यंविषयानुसारि।
मुमुक्षुरात्मोदयमिद्ध कीर्त्या वि (बि) भर्त्तिः सत्तुंडसरो

१७. रूहेण ॥३२॥] [Upajāti]
अथसुललित वु (बु)द्धिर्नानं एष प्रभावी जयवति जयदुर्ग्गे कीर्त्ति हेतोः
कलावान[2]। सुरचित हरिदेहं पैत् (त्र) मेतद्गुणज्ञः प्रवित्तनय
जालोऽकारयकृत्यवेदी ॥३३॥] [Mālanī]
माननीयो मति[3]नार्नः प्रतिमीकृत केशवं (वम्) प्राशा (सा)दं स्थापयामास

१८. पितृ वि (श्राम) हेतवे ॥३४॥] [Anuṣṭubh]
यावन्नगा वशु(सु)मती मरूतां कुलानि रत्नाकराः शशि दिवाकर दीप्ति
वृंदम्। तावत्स पुण्यवसतिर्मनुजो विधातु विम्सा[4] (र्वेश्मा) तिष्ठति सुरोत्कार-
माननीयः ॥३५॥ [Vasantalilaka]
अमर कविरनर्घ्या[5]ङ्गर्व्वलकारसारां पटुपदल प—

१९. (नीयामेष) शिष्टस्थविष्ठः। अवयुदुरूगुणाङ्कै[6] संभृताभिज्ञ संज्ञः।
कृति कुतुकमभीप्सुर्वाक्पटी[7] चित्रवर्णाम् ॥३६॥ [Mālanī]
क्षणदेशेक्षणागत श्रुतिभूतसमिन्वते। संवत्सरे शुभे लेखि वैशाखे मासि
सद्दिने ॥३७॥ [Anuṣṭubh]
अंङ्केपि ॥ सम्वत १३४५ समयो वैशा -----

२०. [ख -------] ॥३८॥ परस्परं प्रीतियुजौ प्रियम्व (यवं) दौ सुमैक नामा
(न्त) र[8] नाथवल्लभौ। नयेन युक्तौ भुवने यशस्विनौ स चम्पकायान्तनया-
वजीजनत (त्) ॥३९॥ [Vaṁsasthaavila]
कायस्थवास्तव्यान्वे (न्वये) प्रतोलिकान्वित जयपुरदुर्ग्गधिपठकुर श्री अयो[9]
सुत पंसुहई (दु).

२१. -----केनमितां (शूर्षि) लिखितः सकार श्री गोपाल-----शुभं भवतुकार-
कस्य।

P.1 नायात

P.2 फलानां

P.3 माननीयमति

P.4 विश्मो

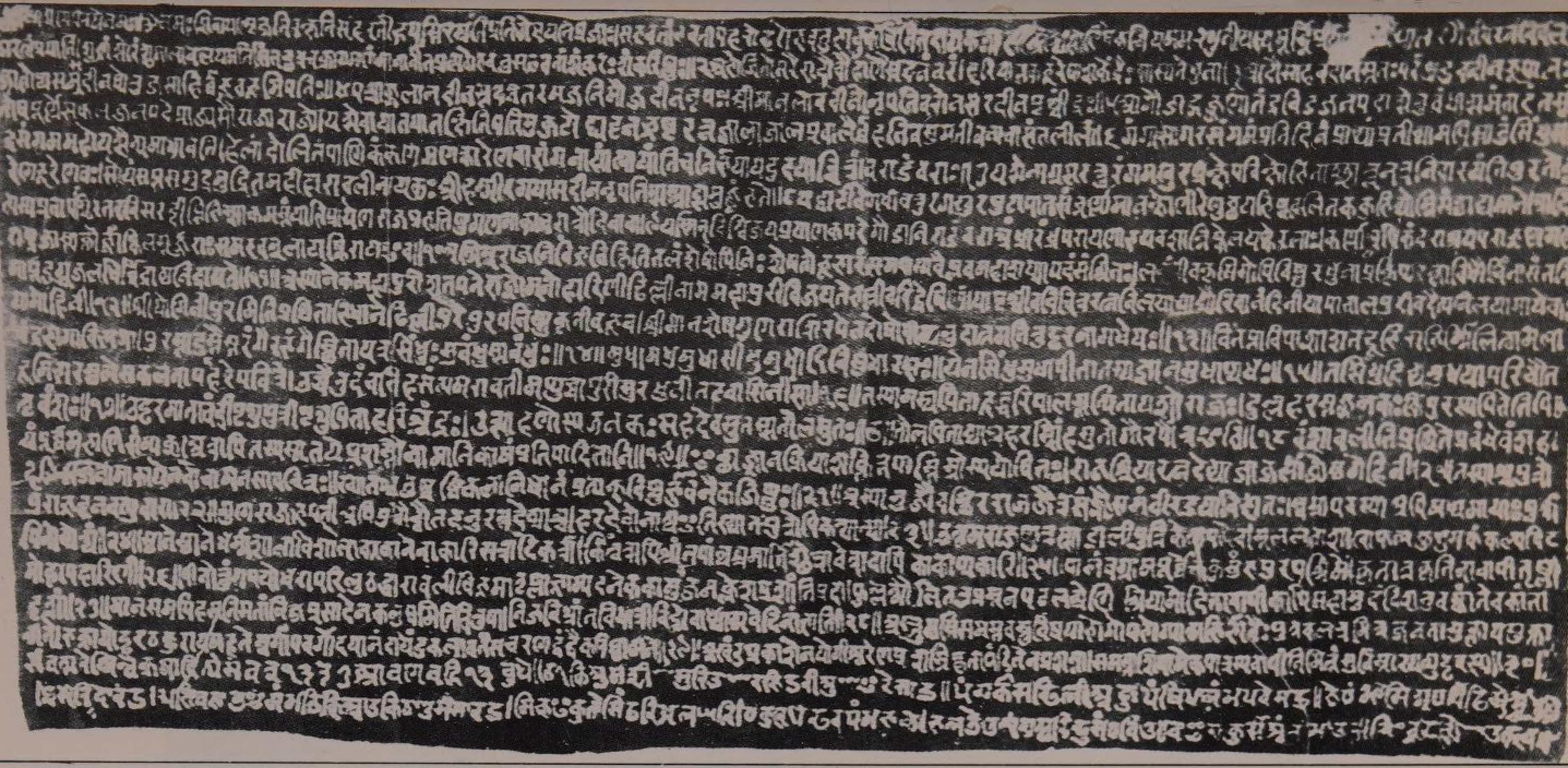
P.5 पतिरनन्यो

P.6 अचय दुरूगुणार्कः

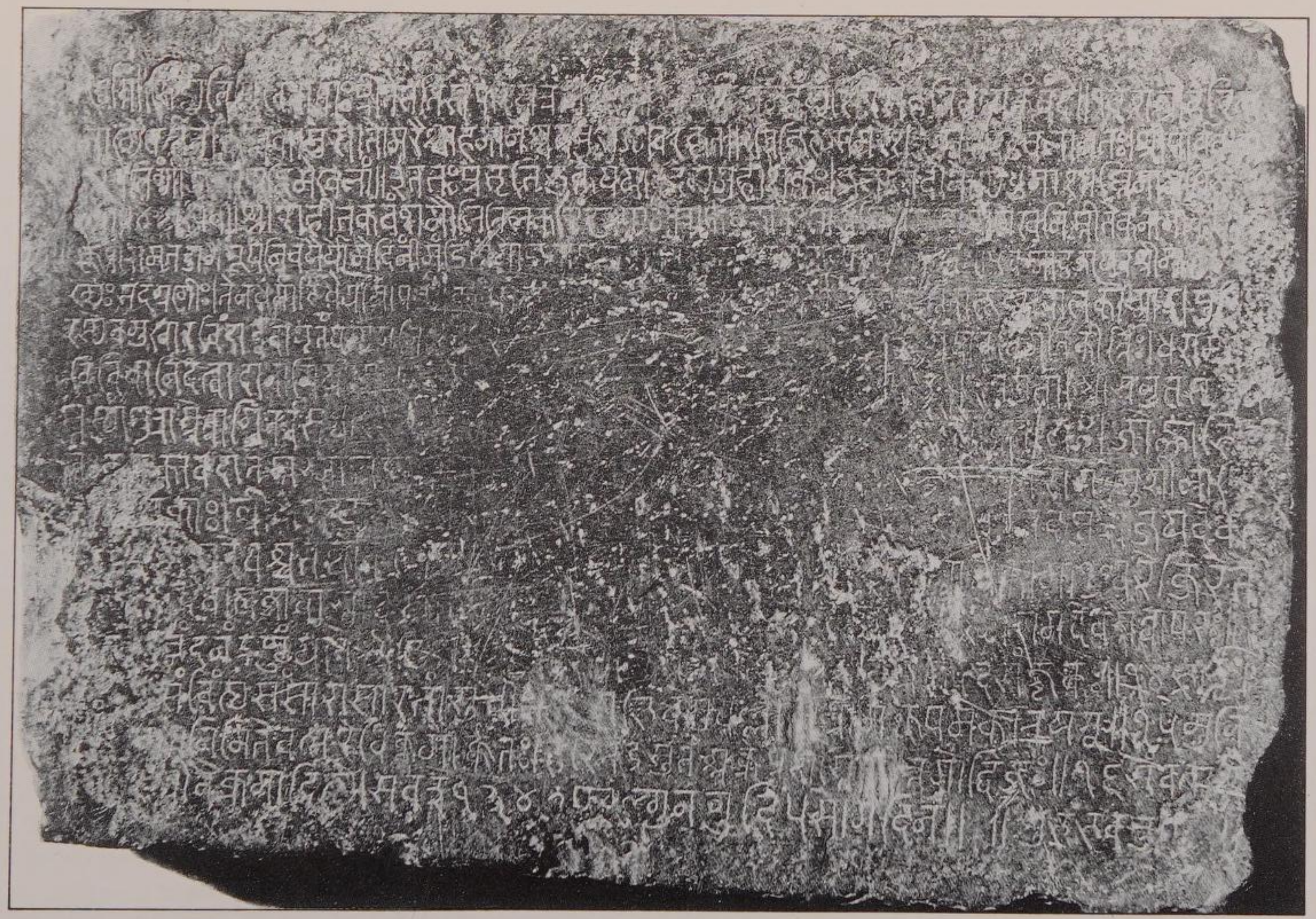
P.7 पदीं

P.8 सुतौसुकर्मोत्तर

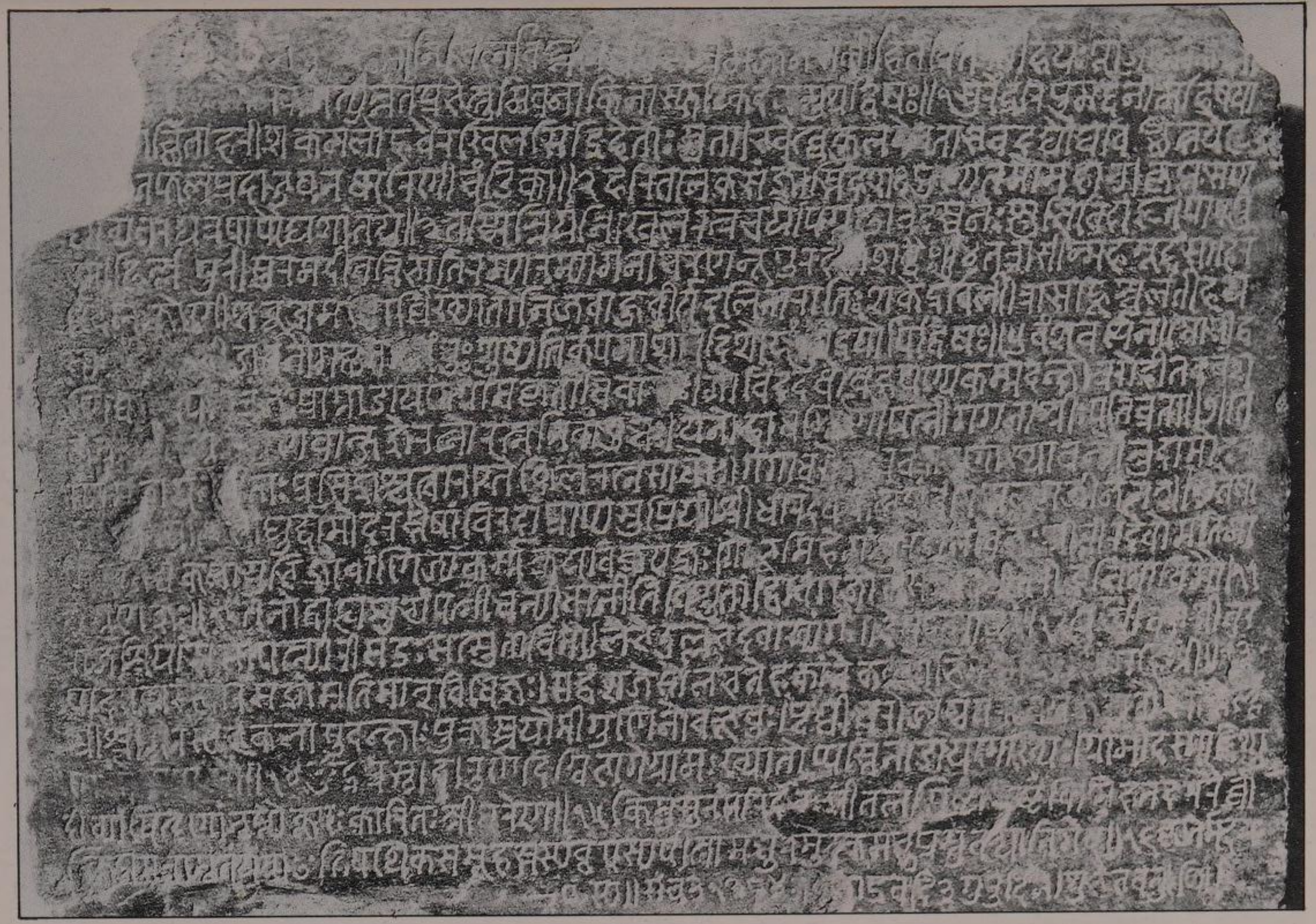
P.9 सुयौ



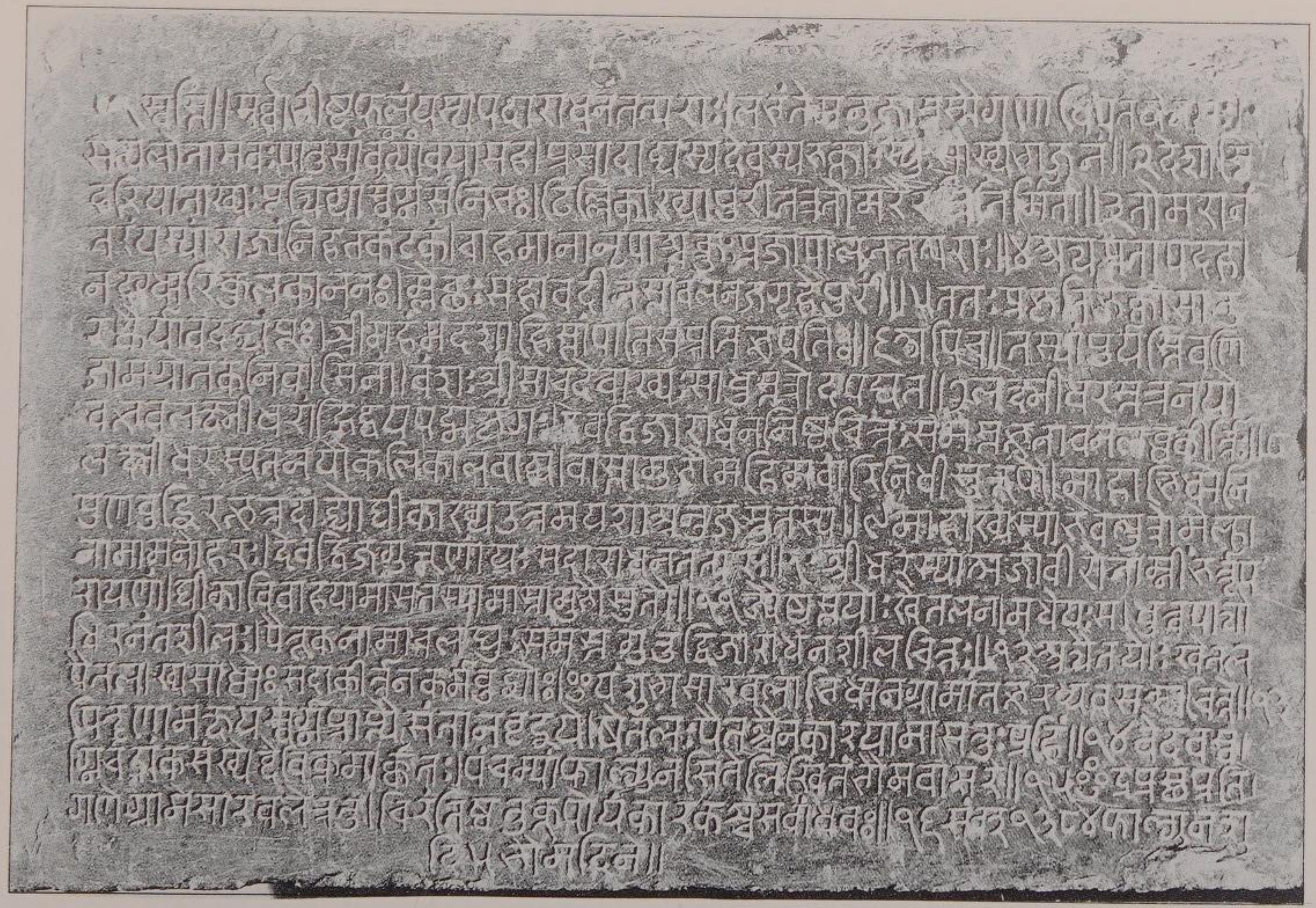
I Palam Baoli Inscription



II Stone Inscription at Delhi Museum

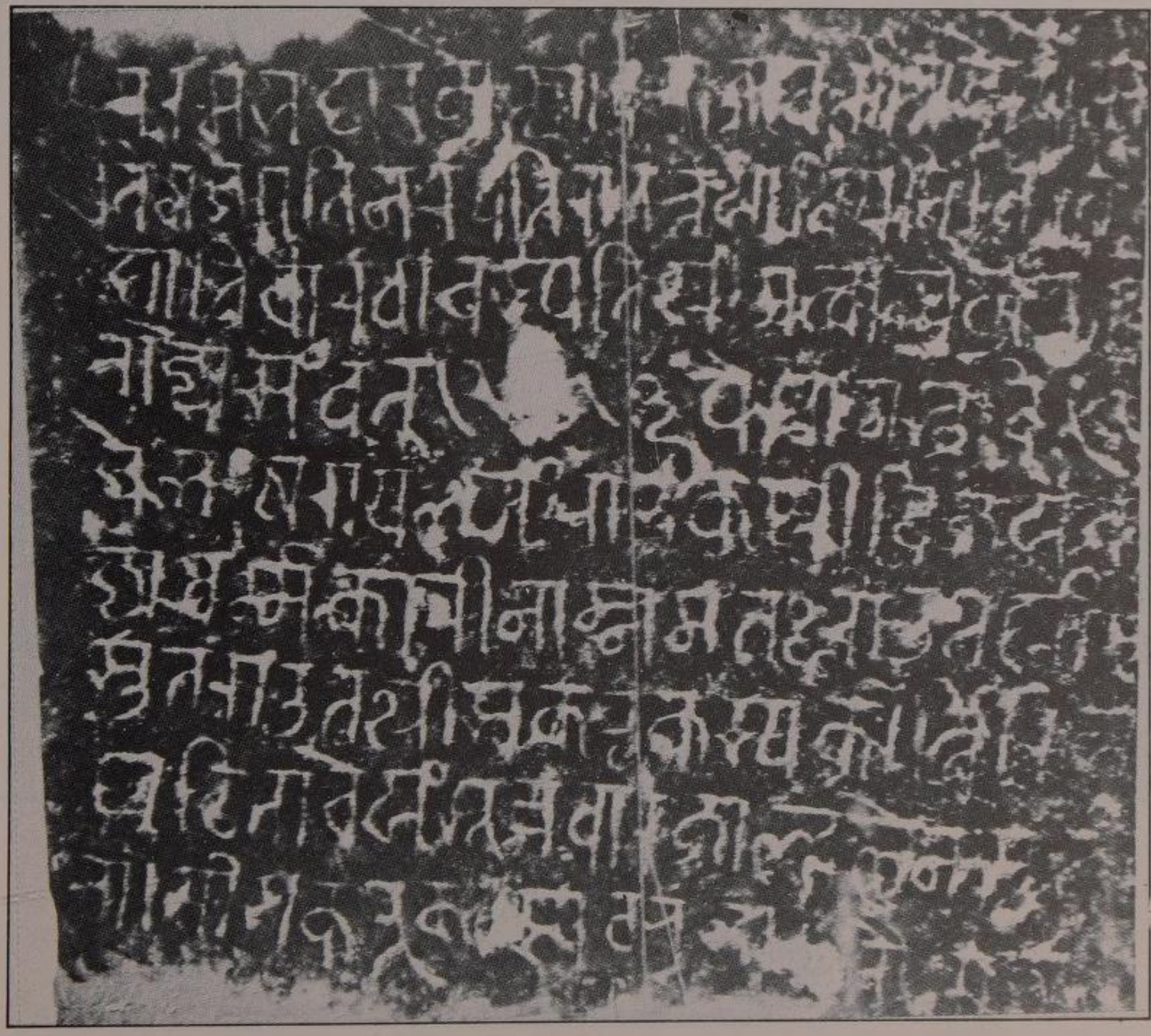


III Naraina Stone Inscription

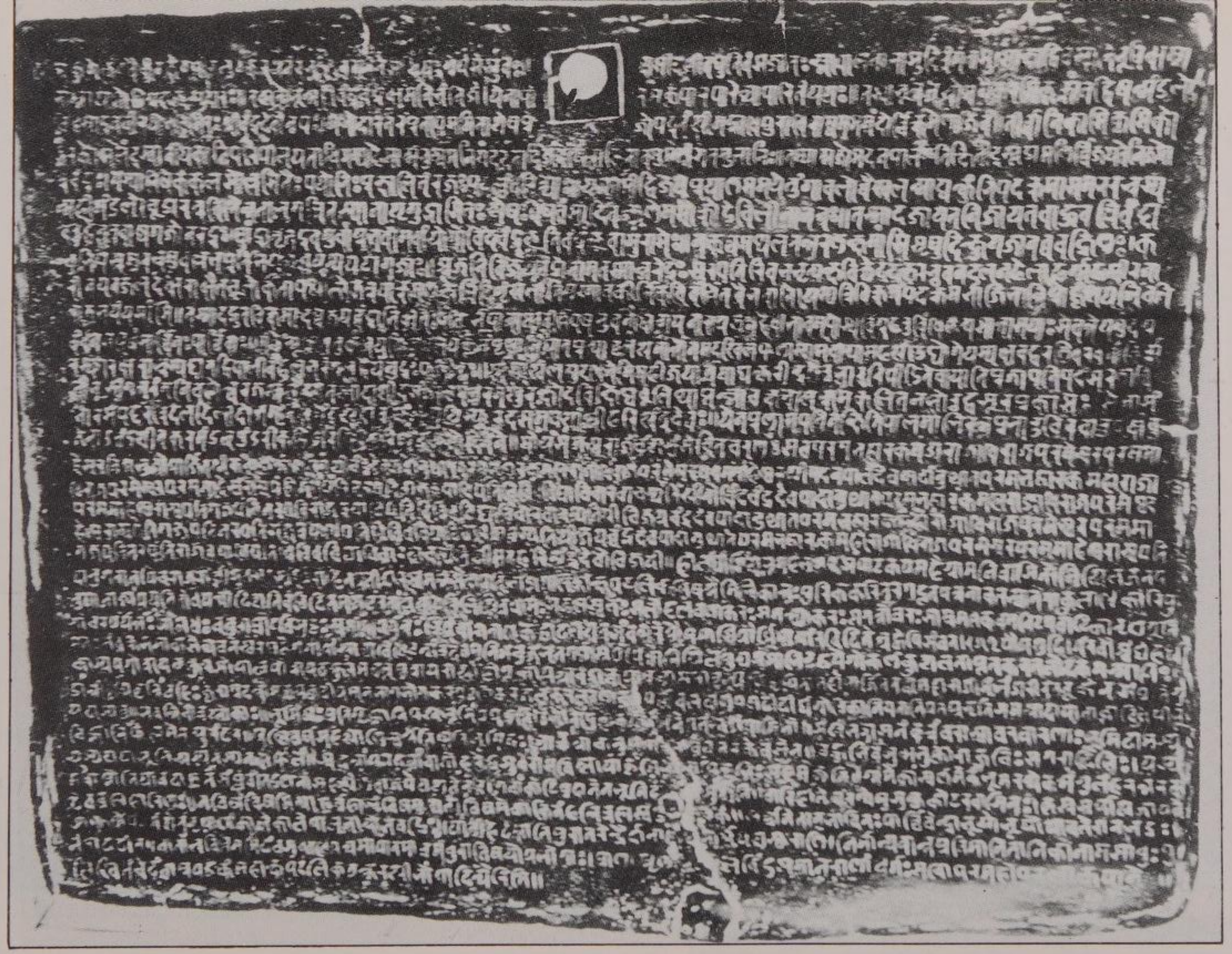


IV Sarban Stone Inscription

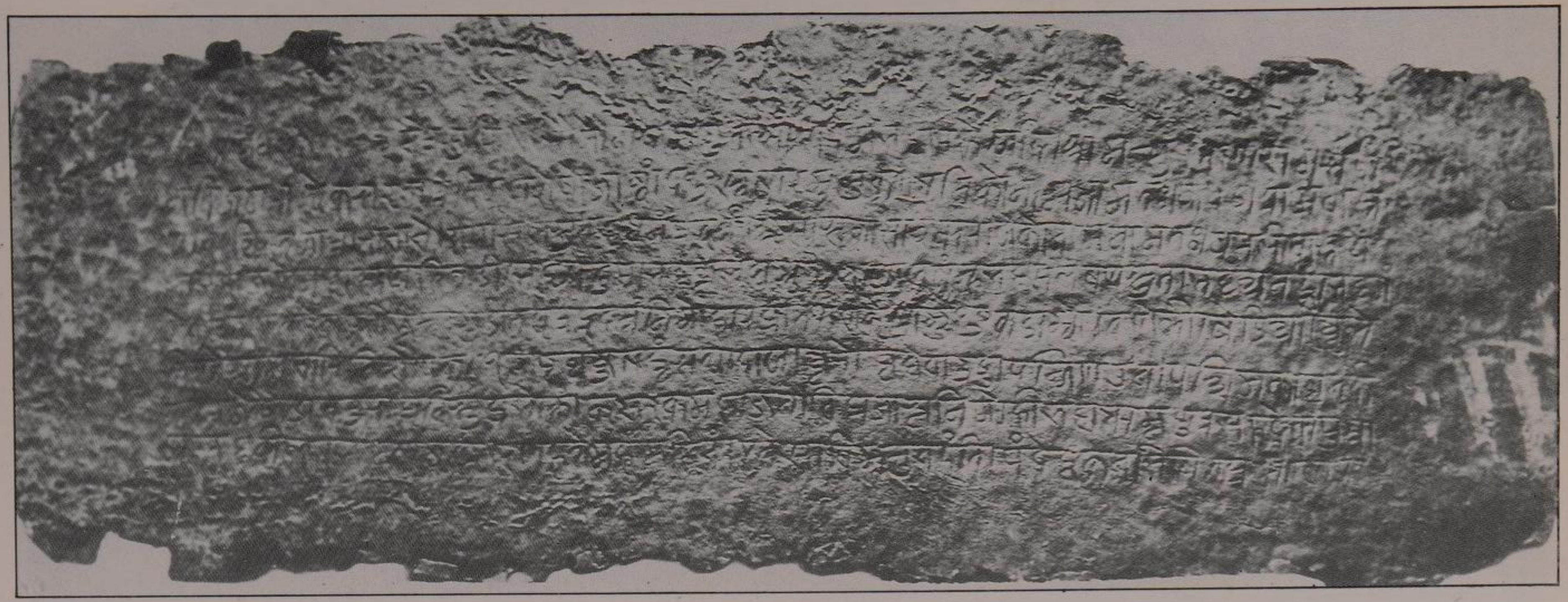
V Mubarakpur Kotla Bilingual Inscription of Sikandar Lodi



VI Belkhera Pillar Inscription

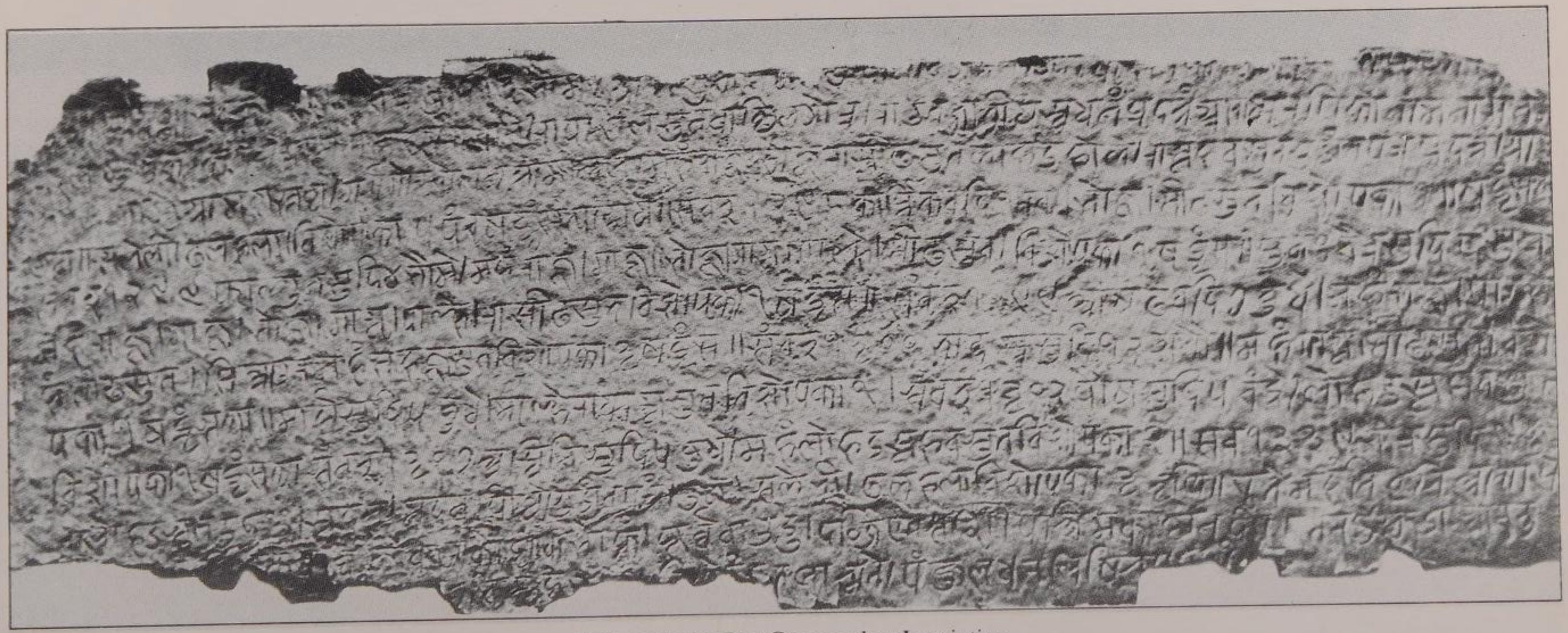


VII Machchlishahr Copper-plate Inscription of Gahadavala Dynasty of Hariscanda



VIII Mahoba Fort Copper-plate Inscription

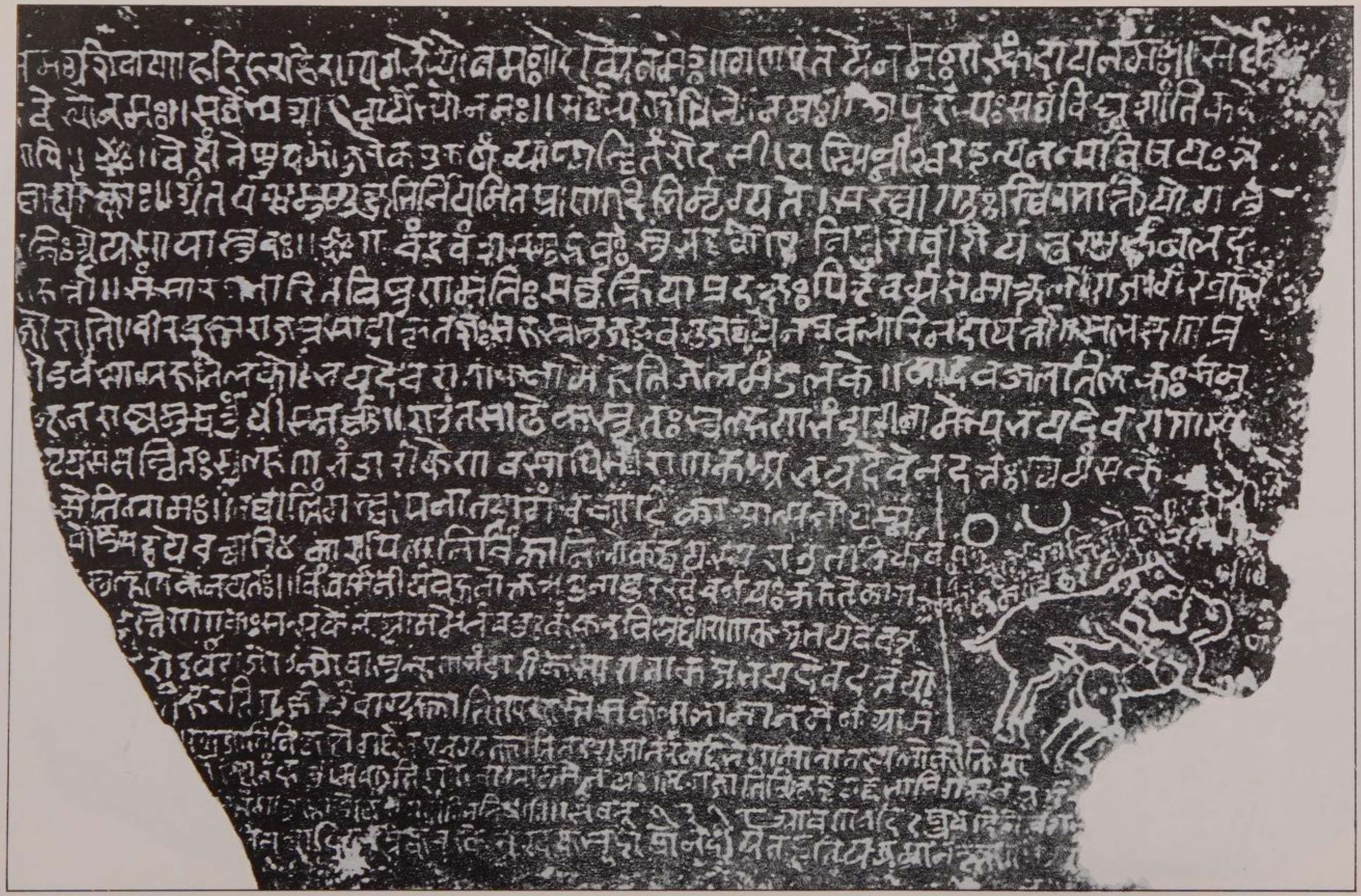
Obverse side of the plate



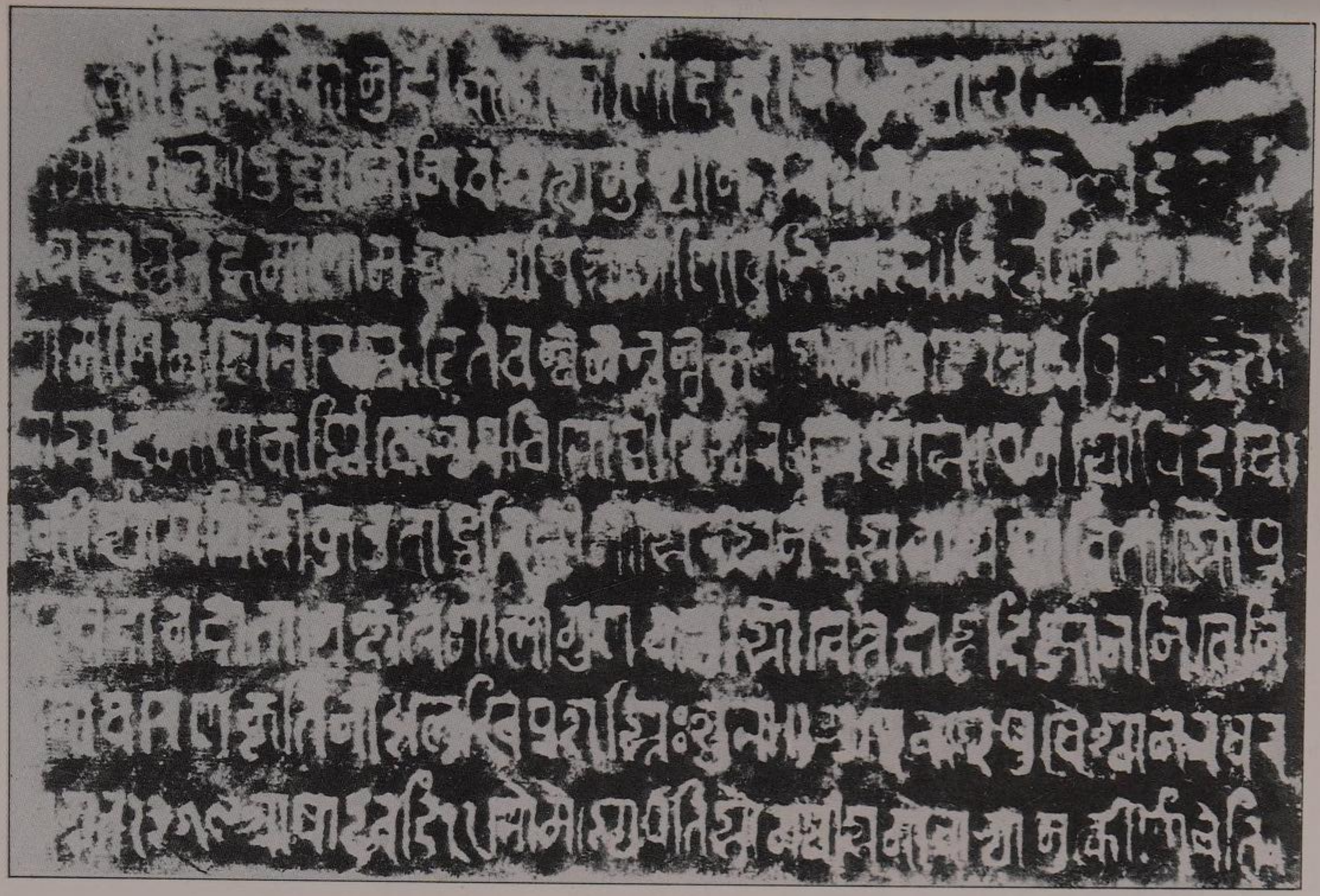
VIII . Mahoba Fort Copper-plate Inscription

Reverse side of the plate

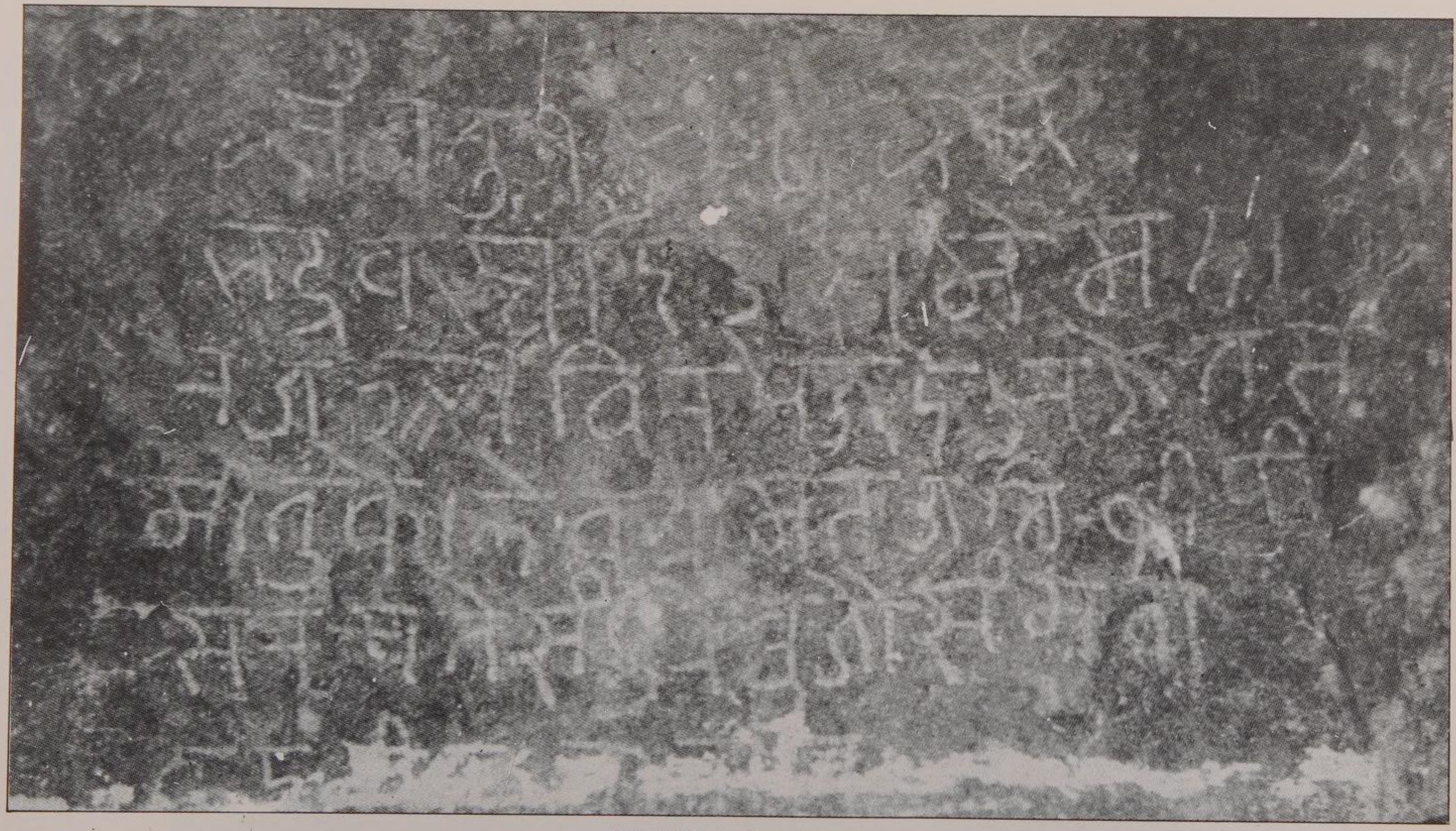
IX. Etawah Fort Inscription



X Stone Inscription in Jhansi Fort

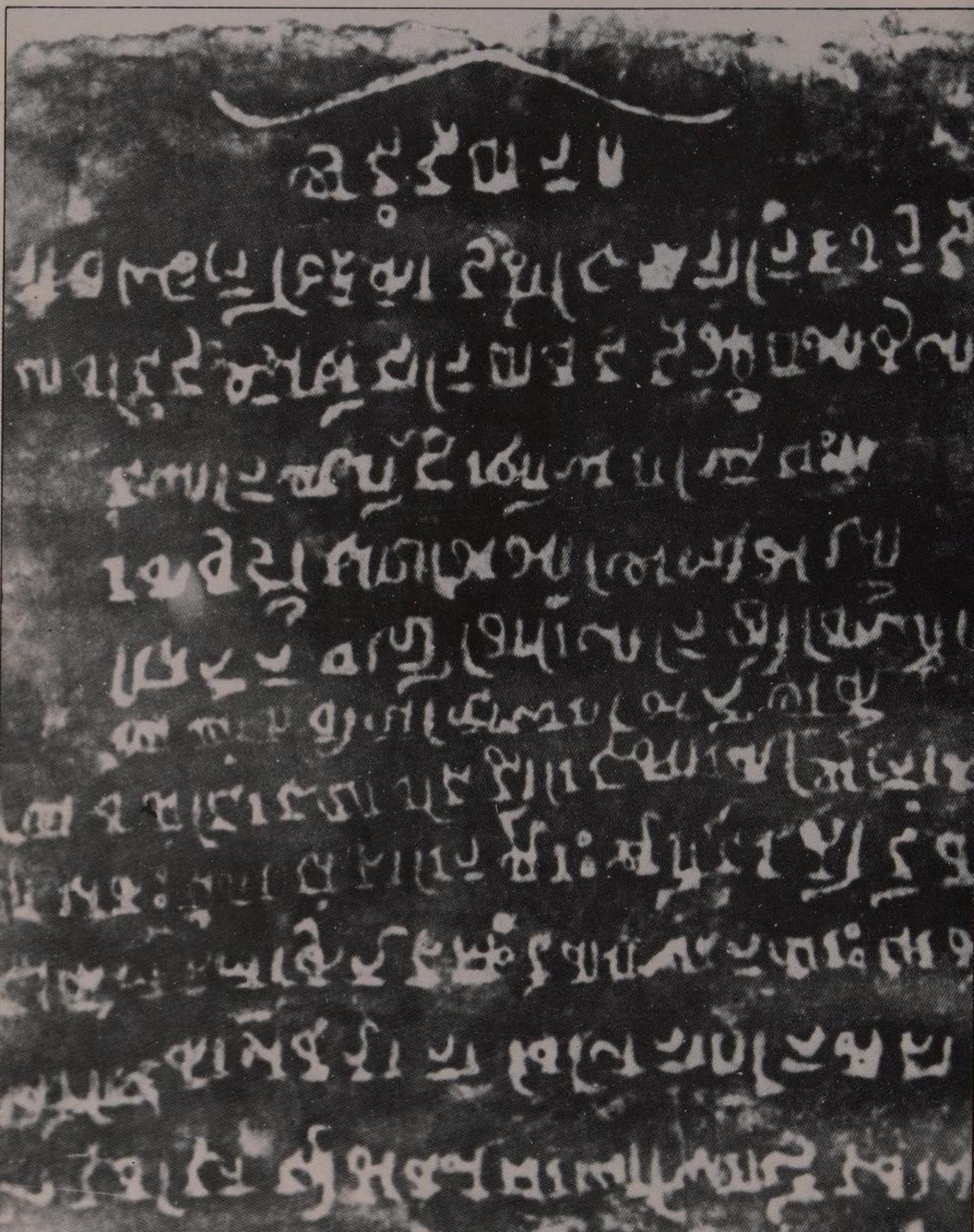


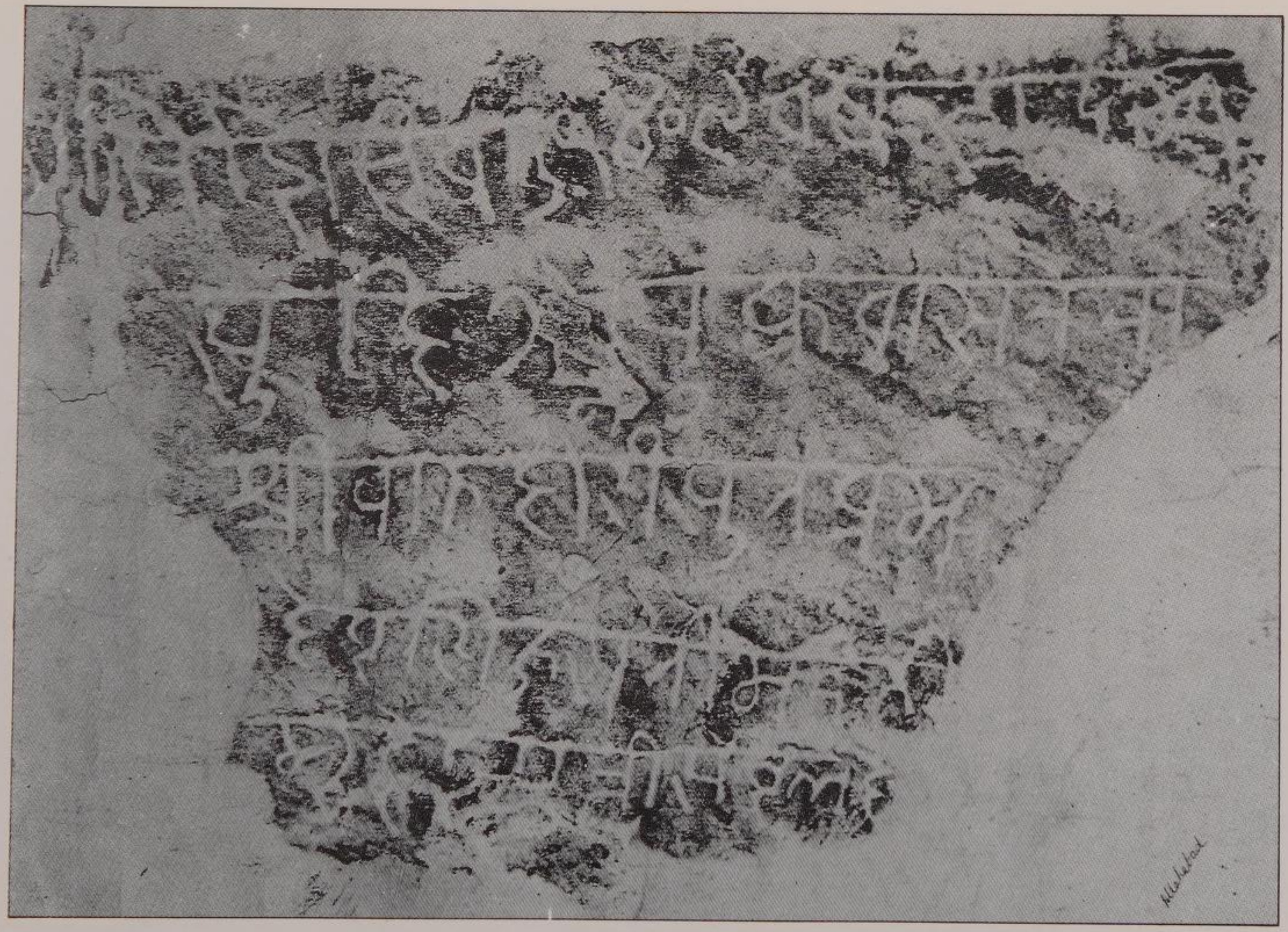
XI Manikarnika Ghat Stone Inscription



XII Allahabad Inscription

XIII Etawah Fort Inscription

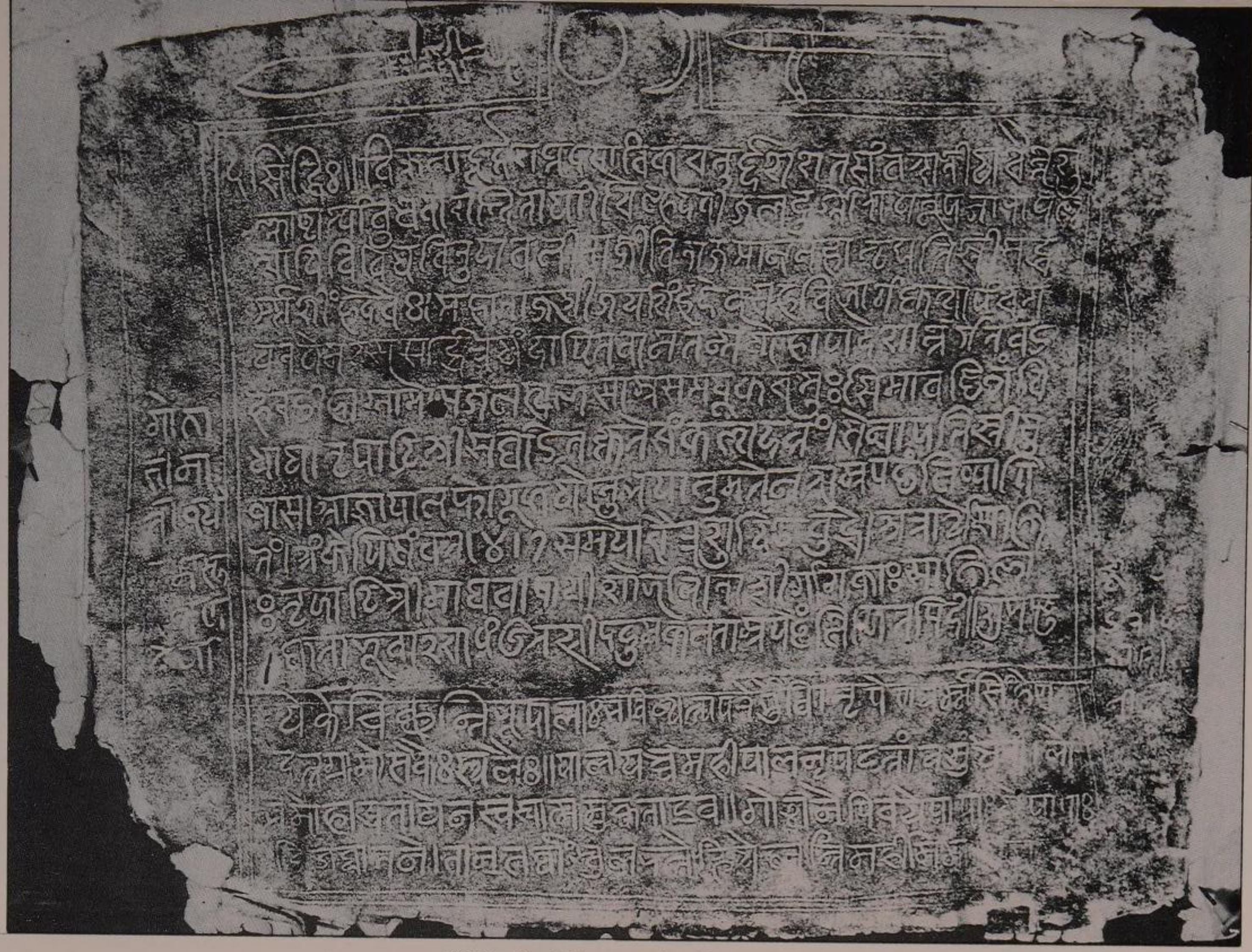




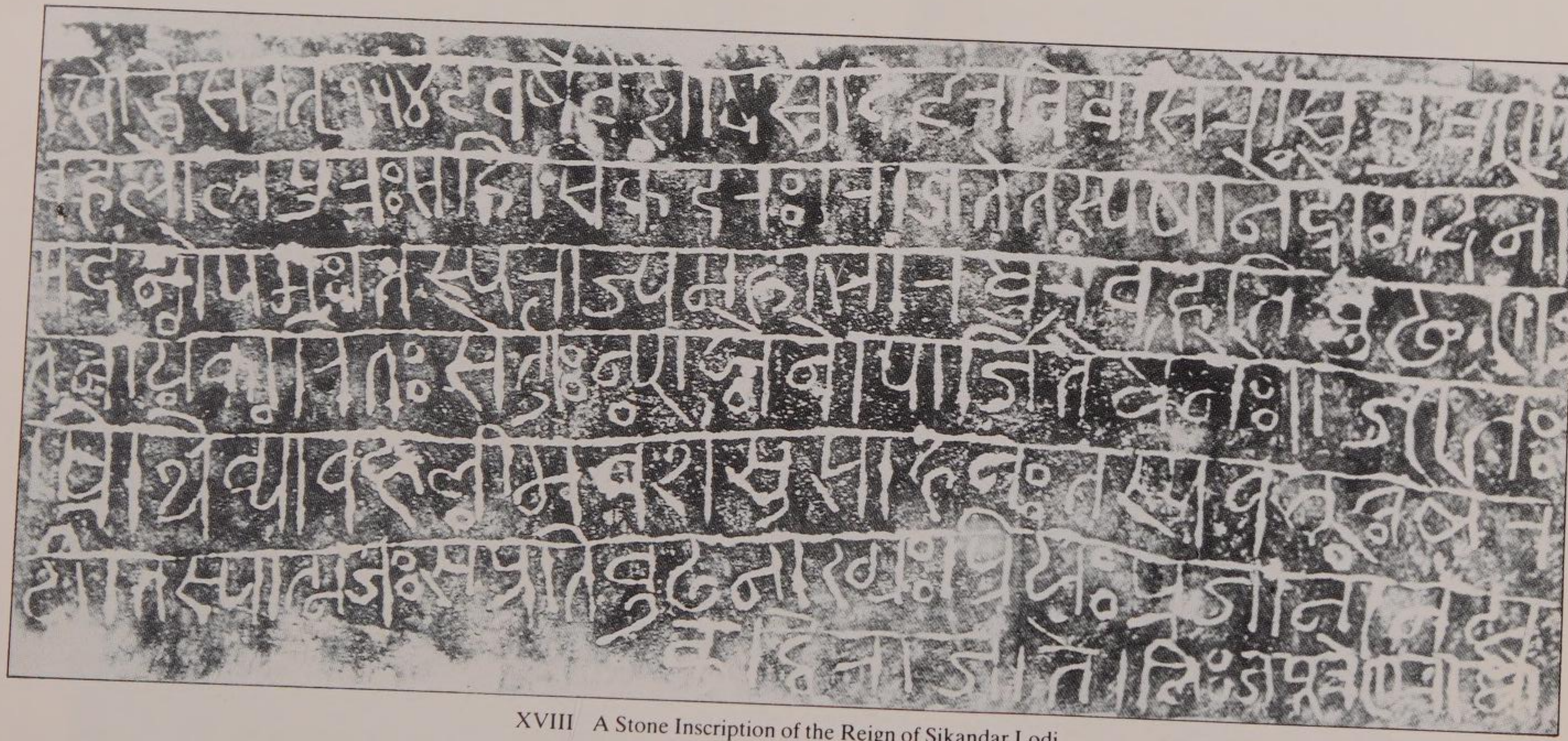
XIV Son Stone Inscription

XV Lalitpur Stone Inscription

XVI Bhitari Pillar Inscription



XVII Basti Copper-plate Inscription



XVIII A Stone Inscription of the Reign of Sikandar Lodi

Translation: [164]

Salutations to the illustrious Vāsudeva.

1. May Deva (Viṣṇu) the preserver, the enemy of the sons of Diti (Asuras), afford you joy, he who generally does not feel physical weariness, being in the constant happy embrace of the bold Lakṣmī and who signifies amazingly consummate love (for the consort) with his restless rolling eyes intoxicated with delight; and whose Śrī Vatsa (breast-jewel) shines like the Cupid's arrows shot by the expanded bow of its blazing rays.

2. May Murārī (i.e. the enemy of Murā) of ardent beauty, bless you; he who while being gazed at by his herds of cows, held upon the tip of his hand the mount Govardhana like a lump of mustard cake, and whose wondrous lustre was enhanced by the love-stricken wives of the cowherds.

3. May Hari, who is, as if in pleasant sport, thwarting the diversions of the licentious deer with their consorts, by an (array) of arrows whose beauty has been blunted by the stiff breasts of the milk-maids, enhance your knowledge.

4. May Deva, the fish transformed husband of Śrī (Lakṣmī), the restorer of the set of the *Vedas* buried in the ocean, the refulgent destroyer of the burdens of the world, and the slayer of Saṁkhāsura, destroy your sins.

5. May the tortoise, who revelled in abstraction in the watery ocean with its shores destroyed by Sarṁvarta (one of the seven clouds the dissolution of the universe), the refuge of the world constant in shining beauty, make you prosper.

6. May Mādhava (in the form of a Boar) who, by the mighty thrust of his long cruel tusks, delivered the earth in the shape of a muddy lump of clay and who elaborated the fixed order of religion and duty; the abode of intelligence and the habitat of the universe, and who is ever-ready to destroy mental agonies, increase your blessing.

7. May Nṛsiṁha, resplendent like the rays of a thousand suns resting on the tip of the peaks of the Sumeru, and appearing

[164] H.L. Srivastava's translation, with some modifications.

with drawn nails for the destruction of the demon (Hiraṇya-kaśypa), destroy your sins.

8. May Vāmana (dwarf) of matchless glory bless you; he who by the pretext of smashing the eye Śukra, denounced the very statesmanship of his enemies, who expanded himself in proportion to the arrogance and haughtiness of Bali.

9. Victorious be that renowned Paraśurāma, of great intelligence, the abode of victory and fame, who placed the earth in the hands of the Brāhmaṇs after acquiring its governance, and who saddened the wives of the enemies.

10. May Rāma, too, save you from all miseries; he, the slayer of demons, whose deeds of valour gladden the hearts of the magnanimous and serve as the protection of body.

11. There lived the venerable sage Kāśyapa, the foremost amongst the expounders of the *Vedas*, whom happily the creator created to satisfy the deities according to the injunctions.

12. Of that noble spirit were born two reputed sons, Kuśa and Sunābha, as though the two matchless luminaries the sun and moon, had descended from heaven to dispel the darkness.

13. The residence of Kuśa, who was of handsome appearance due to his virtuous deeds, was Kauśāmyapura. There dwelt a certain person who became his chief minister.

14. That uncertain person, who became well known for the performance of the kāyastha duties, known by the surname of kāyastha and respected by the learned for his (versatile) genius, satisfier of the expectations of the needy, became the ornament of that noble Kāśyapa lineage.

15. Being endowed with the grace of flowery speech, charming personality, and loves for ever practising the rational course of honest policy, he along with his whole family enjoyed the (appellation) of Vāstavya.

16. That wise being was named Hāruka because he stole the hearts of women by beauty, those of kings by his statesmanship and of the learned by his wit and deep erudition.

17. Superior to all of the writer-caste, the receptacle of the *agamas*, the root of the tree of virtue, the vessel of light, he had a son, named Jalhaṇa, of infinite valour (peerless) like the preceptor of the gods born on the earth for the benefit of kings.

18. Of him was born the honourable Gaṅgādhara, the receptacle of all virtues; conversant with the law of common usage, in whose jewel-like immaculate person the *tamas* (guṇa) never found any quarters.

19. (His) noble-minded (son) bore the gentle name of Kamale, who concentrated his heart on the lotus foot of Kamalā's husband, of personal beauty commensurate with his virtues.

20. Of him was born Māleka, resembling Aja, of immaculate person and encircled by an abundance of good qualities.

21. From him were born these four, the wisest and the best of the sons, namely Padma Siṁha, Ratan Siṁha, Jaga Siṁha and Kumar Siṁha.

22. The broad-minded Ratan Siṁha, the best of the learned, begot three sons, who were self-restrained and of infinite prowess.

23. The first and the foremost among all of them was Sumaika, the lotus-eyed one of matchless figure, conquerer of passion, skilful, another Gaṇapati, fat, and the abode of love, intelligence and beauty; he who had never lowered his head before the haughty and vainglorious (men) and who had earned respect and honour in the courts of the kings.

24. They became ministers of the kings of the Candratreya line whose fame had reached the ears of the damsel-like quarters (i.e. the ends of the world).

25. One of the (remaining) two, the teacher of religious laws, learned and fascinating, was known as Nānā, who having resorted to the illustrious king Bhojavarman, wrought about the dawn of the sun of his statesmanship.

26. This versatile man justified his name Nānā (i.e. various) by winning the favour of women by his sweet speech and of the kings by his polite behaviour; nay, every one loved him as his own life.

27. He (Nānā) being appointed, the receptacle of merit, and having carried aloft the standard (Kuṁbha) of politics to a high pitch, the king expected the newly anointed royal Lakṣmī to yield rich harvest for a long time to come.

28. Whose spreadihg fame was then adorned, like a beautiful ornament of dazzling splendour, the ocean in the shape of countless conch-shells playing about (on its billows).

29. His consorts, who were well adorned like damsels of the quarters, and who was well versed in the practical lore of the scriptures, and whose ear-ornaments were dressed by the damsel like Maruts, became a source of pleasure to the sages.

30. His son Pṛithivīdhara shed lustre, like the new moon by causing delight to the masses of lily-like righteous persons; he possessed an attractive manner and a commendable personality.

31. Being desirous of crossing the worldly ocean by the ship of Lakṣmī's husband, he takes to the devotional course for salvation with most pious intentions.

32. Thus seeing the futile agreeableness of worldly pleasure derived from the objective world, and desiring salvation, he maintains his face like the lily after having wrought his fame for the elevation of his soul.

33. This highly spirited and versatile Nānā, adept in all the fine arts, caused this well-made image of Hari to be placed at the victorious and celebrated fort of Jayapura in honour of his ancestors, for love of fame; he was a judge of merits and expounder of all polity, grateful and of splendid understanding.

34. This Nānā of respectable intellect established a temple with the image of Keśava for the salvation of his ancestors.

35. So long as the mountains, the earth, the gods, the oceans, the moons, the sun and the heavenly luminaries (shall endure), so long shall that man, the seat of virtue and the beloved of gods, live in the habitation of the creator.

36. The poet Amara, desirous of satisfying the curiosity of the learned, wove this variegated priceless literary carpet, replete with excellent metaphors expressed the appropriate phrases.

He was gentle and stately, and had earned the title of 'wise man' because of his eminent qualities.

37-8. This inscription was written on the lucky day of the month of Vaiśākha indicated by the moon, Śiva's eyes, *Vedas* and *bhutas*. In figure also Samvat 1345, time Vaiśākha.

39. He had two sons named Nātha, otherwise known as Sumaika, and Vallabha by Campaka (his wife), who loved one another, who spoke sweetly and were well known in the world, and possessed a pattern of morality.

This was written by Pamsahai (born) in the family of Vāstavya kāyastha, the son of illustrious *ṭhakkura* Ayo, the commandant of the balconied Jayapura fort .....
May good luck attend the author ....

41. Inscription on a Rock Near Tirhawan Gate at Ajayagaḍh Fort

Edited by Kielhorn in *EI*, I, pp. 330–8, 1884; mentioned by Cunningham, *ASR*, XXI, 1883–4, pp. 47, 53, 88, plate J, XV, reported in *AR*, *ASI*, 1935–6, p. 92.

This inscription was found on a rock near Tirhawan or Tirhawani gate of the Ajayagaḍh fort, and contains thirty-two verses in Sanskrit in Nagari script. As regards the orthography of this inscription, the consonant *b* is generally denoted by the sign for *v*, when it is preceded and followed by a vowel (e.g. *vivudha*, line 1, *savaṙan*, line 10, etc.) and by its own proper sign, when combined with another consonant (e.g. in *garbbha* and *avilambitaṁ* in line 3); but *babhuva* occurs twice even after a vowel, in lines 6 and 7. The dental sibilant is used nine times for the palatal (e.g. in *śasi*—line 1, *āsur* and *saila*—line 4) and the palatal for the dental in *praśūnair*, line 6 and *vilāśa*, line 13. Moreover, it should be noted that instead of *yy* we have the conjunct *jy* in lines 8 and 10, and instead of *khy*, *kṣ* in *Jayakṣa*, line 8 and *prākṣāta* in line 14. The inscription, which gives the name of the ruler as Bhojavarman of the Candella dynasty, ends abruptly, and it neither contains the names of the composer, writer or engraver, nor is it dated. There are two other known dated inscriptions of Bhojavarman of v.s. 1345 and 1346,[165]

[165] *JASB*, VI, Pt I, pp. 881–7; *ASR*, XXI, p. 53. Ins. no. K.

and, therefore, this inscription may be assigned to approximately the end of the thirteenth century.

The purpose of the inscription is unclear, but it is possibly a record of the construction of a temple by Subhate, a Vāstavya kāyastha who was the superintendent of the treasury of king Bhoja or Bhojavarman. Many Vāstavya kāyasthas (a sub-caste of the kāyastha; see supra ins. no. 40), are said to have occupied important positions in the administration under the Candella kings. Jājuka was honoured with the title *thakkura* and was appointed (superintendent) by Gaṇḍa with all powers to look after the affairs of the state and was granted the village of Dugauḍa.

Another member of the same family, Maheśwar, was also honoured by another Candella king, Kirttivarman. The king gave him the title *Viśiṣa* of Kalinjar and granted him the village of Pipalāhika.

Gadādhara and Jauṇadhara of the same clan were appointed *pratiharas* (door-keepers) by Paramarddi, while Maladhara, the younger brother of Jauṇdhara, served as a warrior during the reign of Paramarddideva. Alhu, another of this family, looked after the administration of the streets (*pratolī*) during the same reign.

No designation or post has been mentioned for Śobhana and Vīdiṁha, two other people mentioned in the inscription. We are told that the two sons of Vīdina, Vāse and Ānand, were given important posts by king Trailokyavarman. Vāse was appointed *Viśiṣa* of Jayapurdugga and granted the village of Varbhavari. Vāse defeated Bhojuka, an opponent of Trailokyavarman.[166] This enabled Trailokyavarman once again to become powerful.

Ānanda, the younger brother of Vāse, who was appointed as the governor [castellan] (*durgādhikāri*) of the fort Ajayagaḍh, brought the wild tribes of the Bhil, Sabaras and Pulindas to submission. V.A. Smith comments that 'even in its best days, the Candella kingdom was only partially cleared and was chiefly inhabited by sundry hill tribes, who owed indeed a certain allegiance to *rājā* but yet lived for the most part free of control and indulged with restraint in their hereditary propensities for fighting and plunder'.[167] Smith's statement is partly based on the present inscription which shows that at that time a fair number of primitive tribes were to be

[166] For a possible reference to this Bhojuka, but with the spelling 'Bhojaka'; see Ins. no. 27 of v.s. 1325.

[167] *JASB*, *XLVI*, Pt. 1, p. 229.

found in the vicinity of Ajayagaḍh.[168] We are further informed that Bhojavarman appointed Gopati and Mahīpāla as *bhaṅḍhagārapati* and Subhate as *kośādhikārādhipati.* Both designations signify the office of treasurer.

The town of Takkārikā and the villages of Duguḍa, Pipalāhika and Varbhavari, which are mentioned in the inscription cannot be identified.

Text (as read by Kielhorn):

ओं[169] नमः केदाराय ।।

१. गङ्गातरङ्गतरलीकृतसर्प्पराजबे(ष्टा)य चारूशसि(शि)खण्डविभूषणाय।
कन्दर्प्पदर्प्पशमनाय सुराच्चिर्ताताय केदारूपवि(पति) (धृ)ताय नमः शिवाय ।।१।।

[Vasantatilakā]

षटत्रिंशतिः करणकर्म्मनिवासपूता आसन्पुरः परमसौख्यगुणातिरिक्ताः।
तन्मध्यागाविवु(बु)धलोकमता वरिष्ठा टक्कारिका समजनि स्पृहणीय कल्पाः
।।२।। [Vasantatilakā]

सव्वों[प] कारकारणै-

२. कनिधेः स्वकीयवंशस्य पात्रसुभगस्य द्विजाश्रयस्य। कल्पावसान समय स्थितये
पु[री]यां वास्तुः स्व्यं समधिगम्य समाससाद ।।३।। [Vasantatilakā]
तस्यां श्रुतेर्न्निानदसंङ्घनिनादितायां वास्तव्यवंशभविनङ्करणान्त आसन्। आशाः
समस्तभुवनानि यदीय कीर्त्त्या पूर्ण्णानि हंसधवलानि विशेषयन्त्या ।।४।।

[Vasantatilakā]

विद्याश्चतुर्द्दश कलाः सकलाः समीयु — पद्माभिरा-

३. ममिव वल्लभमायताक्ष्यः। यं गर्ब्भसंस्थमविलम्बितमद्वितीयं दुःखं वियोगजम
संवृतमुद्वहन्त्यः ।।५।। [Vasantatilakā]
तद्वंशतः स उदपादि नरेश्वरेण गण्डाह्वयेन युधि दुर्ज्जयतां गतेन।
जाजूकसंज्ञ इति ठक्कुर[ध]र्म्मयुक्तः सर्व्वाधिकारकरणेषु सदानियुक्तः ।।६।।

[Vasantatilakā]

आराध्य[170] तं नृपति मण्डलमण्डनैकं देवं गदाधरमिवाच्युतवासमाद्म(म्)।

४. कायस्थवंशनलिनीगणतादिनेशो ग्रामं दुगौडमपि ताम्रकमासु(शु)लेभे ।।७।।
ततसन्ततौ सकलवाङ्मय[171] पारद(दृं)श्वाभूभूषणां निशिपते- [Vasantatilakā]

168 Elliot mentions that the original inhabitants of Banda district were the tribes, now generally known as Kols, Bhils, Khonda and Gonds. (*Supplement Glossary of the terms used in N.W.P.*, I, Appendix C, p. 35; Crook op.cit., II, pp. 47–8.

169 Expressed by symbol.

170 Originally आरध्य altered to आराध्य

171 Originally सकलवाङ्ममय.

रिवकान्तिभर्त्ता। मोहान्धकारकुहरेषुनिपातहर्त्ता माहेश्वरः
समभवत्सुकृताभिसर्त्ता ॥८॥ [Vasantatilakā]
यः पीतसै(शै)ल विषयेषु महीपतीनां चूडामर्णि समनु[से]व्य
समार्ज्जयच्च। श्री कीर्त्तिवर्म्मनृपर्ति वि-
५. शिषाभिधानं कालञ्जरस्य पिपलाहिकया समेतम्[172] ॥९॥ [Vasantatilakā]
तस्मिन्कुले महति सज्जनलोकजुष्टे गङ्गाधर समुदभूत्सचि[वो]भिरामः।
नूनं विचार्य परमर्द्दिनरेश्वरेण युक्तः स[कञ्चुकि]तया[173] परया तु धीरः ॥१०॥
[Vasantatilakā]
जौणाधरस्तदनुजः सहकर्म्मचारी सदारतः समरकर्म्मणि मोक्षकारी।
तौ वीरमार्ग्गमनुसृत्य गिरौ गरिष्ठे
६. कालञ्जरे युयुधतुर्व्विशिखा[कु]लेन ॥११॥
[Vasantatilakā]
तथैव मालाधरनामधेयस्तस्य द्वितीयोऽजनि वीर मुख्यः।
सुरैःसदा कल्पतरूप्रशू(सू)नैरभ्यर्च्चितो यः समरेषु रेमे ॥१२॥ [Upajāti]
क्रमेण तस्मिन्प्रबभूवधीर आल्हू प्रतोली रूचिरधिकारः [।]
येनावरूद्धे कलुषे वृषेण सदैव रेमे रभसेन दुर्ग्गे ॥१३॥ [Upajāti]
तस्यात्मजश्चापि बं(ब)भूव रम्यः सु(शु)भान्वितः सो(शो)[भ]न-
७. नामधेयः। चित्रैश्चरित्रै ककुभां मुखानि यश्चित्रयोमास मु(शु)चिर्गु[णौ][174] धैः
॥१४॥ [Upajāti]
विद्यानिधानं तंनयश्च तस्य विद्याधरैस्तुल्प(ल्य)तनुर्बभूव ॥
यस्मिन्नृपो वीदननामधेयौ[175] विन्यस्य राज्यं सुमना[:]सदैव ॥१५॥[Indravajrā]
वशं[176]पुराभ्येति जनस्य चि[त्तं]त्रैलोक्यवर्म्मक्षिति पस्य[चा]त्र।
इतीव वाशेरचिताभिधानो बभूव पुत्रोऽस्य गुणैरूदारः ॥१६॥ [Upajāti]
कार्यक्षमंन्तं वि-
८. गणाज्य(य्य)राज्या(जा)दुर्ग्गे जयाक्षे(ख्ये)विशिषाधिकारे।
नियोज्य तस्मै व्यतरत्प्रसिद्धं ग्रामं सदा व[र्भ]वरीति नाम्ना ॥१७॥[Upajāti]
तस्मिन्मनोरममयं सुरसद्म वापीं वास्तव्यवंशतिलकः सुजलां च रम्याम्।
विज्ञाय देहमचिरं चिरतां सिसृक्षु प्राचीकरत्तदनुया(पा)धिकलेवरेण ॥१८॥
तत्रायं परिपन्थपार्थिवचमूकक्षेषु दावानलो द्वैराज्यं जन- [Vasantatilaka]
९. यत्त(न्त)म प्रतिहतं कृत्वा कृतान्तातिथिम्।
भोजूकं युधि युद्धदुर्म्मदिनिधिं वासे(शे)कनामा सुधी
र्भूयो येन महीशवंशतिलकस्त्रैलोकयवर्म्मा कृतः ॥१९॥ [Śardulavikrīḍitā]

172 Originally समेताम् altered to समेतम्
173 Originally कुञ्चिकतया altered to कुञ्चुकितया
174 The akshara in brackets may be read र्णौ
175 Read नामधेये
176 Originally वाशं

स्फीतः राज्यमकंटकं गुणिगणाक्रान्तातिसर्व्वास्पदं
दानेनोज्व(ज्ज्व)लवद्विधाय विधिवत्सीमाः समस्ता अपि
तेनालम्भि महीधरे जयपुरे कैलासवासोपमे वासो वासववास-
१०. दर्प्पदलनो रम्यप्रतोलीकृते ॥२०॥ [Śārdūlavikriḍita]
अस्यानुजः पुण्ययशा उदार आनन्दनामा प्रथितः पृथिव्याम् ।
सदैव लोकं मदयन्तमाराद्यं सत्प(त्य)नामानमुदाहरन्ति ॥२१॥ [Upajāti]
भियामभूमिं विगणज्य(य्य)चैनं दुर्ग्गाधिकारे नृपतिः प्रचक्रे ।
आज्ञा[177] करान्प[ल्ल]निवासिनीयं चकार भिल्ला[178]न्सवरान्पुलिन्दान् ॥२२॥
[Upajāti]

तस्यात्मजोभवद
११. [सौ ?]रूचिराभिधानो विद्यासु तासु सकलासु सु(शि)चिः कलासु ।
यो लीलयैव विहरन्समराङ्गशोषु तीव्रानरातिनिवहान्कुणितामनैषति ॥२३॥
[Vasantatilakā]
दुर्ग्गे जयाख्ये प्रवलासुरौच्चर्विध्वंसनी[179]स्तोवपरंपराभिः ।
दुर्ग्गा स्तुवन्नेष सदैव भक्तया कृतांजलि[:] पुण्यतमासु[मु]पास्ते ॥२४॥
गुणैरूदार सुकृतैकचारः पा- [Upajāti]
१२. पाप हारः सुजनैकसारः
[शा][180]स्त्रास्त्रविद्यानिपुणः प्रवीणः कलासु रेजे स सदा यशस्वी ॥२५॥
तस्यात्मजो गोपतिनामधेयो विद्यावदातो नृपतिप्रपूज्यः । [Upajāti]
श्रियां गिरां चाप्यविरोधवासो वंद्यः सतां साधुजनैक सेव्य[:] ॥२६॥[Upajāti]
तस्यानुजन्मा महिपालनामा सौदर्यसौ(शौ)र्यप्रवरो रराज ।
यं वीक्ष्य
१३. लज्जावस(न)तो मनोभूः सदैव चित्तेषु तिरोव(ब)भूव ॥२७॥ [Upajāti]
जयति तदनुजन्मा श्रीविलाशै (सै)कसौधः सुकृतितजनवरिष्ठो वाङ्मि(ग्मि)
नामग्रणीश्च ।
नृपतिसमिति दक्षः श्लाघनीयस्वभावः सुभट इति च नाम्नाकीर्तनीय स्वरूपः ॥२८॥
[Mālinī]
परोपकारप्रतिव(ब)द्ध[कां]क्षः प्रारब्धकार्याधिगतार्थ सिद्धिः । श्रीभीजवर्म्म-
१४. क्षितिपस्य सोभूत्कोसा(शा)धिकारादि(धि ?)पतिः सदैव ॥२९॥ [Upajāti]
सर्व्वाभारधुरंधरोपि सुभटो विश्वासविद्यास्थितिः
श्रीमद्भोजमही महेन्द्र सचिवः प्रक्षा(ख्या)त कीर्त्तिर्ग्गुणैः ।

177 Originally अज्ञा
178 Read भिल्लाञ्शव
179 Read प्रबला सुशेच्चैर्व्विध्वंसिनौ
180 Originally श.

निर्म्मर्य्यादपरोपकारनिरतः सौजन्यमुद्रानिधि-
र्भाण्डागारपतिश्चिरं विजयते धर्म्मेकवु(बु)द्धिर्भृशम् ॥३०॥ [Śārdūlavikrīḍita]

लोकः शोक-

१५. ए-ए-एएए-[दुःखत्रयो ?]मंदिरं
दोला[न्दो]लनचंचलं धनमिदं स्वल्पायि(यु)षो मानुषाः। धर्म्मः कवल एव देह
विरहे देहान्त[रं]गच्छतो गन्ता[त्या ?]गविधेरसंभवतया देवालय[ः]क्रीयताम्
[Śārdūlavikrīḍita] ॥३१॥

ततो जाता महाप्राज्ञा महिपालसुतास्त्रयः[।]
कीर्त्तिपालो वृ(बृ)हत्कीर्त्तिः कुमारो मारसन्निभः ॥३२॥ [Anuṣṭubh]

१६. ----------.

Translation:[181] Oṁ! Adoration to Kedāra!

1. Adoration to Śiva, who manifests himself as Kedāra; who is encircled by the serpent-king, made to move to and fro by the waves of the Gaṅges, and is gracefully decorated with a portion of the moon; he who humbled the pride of the god of love (and) is revered by the gods.

2. There were thirty-six towns, purified by the fact that men of the writer caste dwelt in them (and) more (than other towns) were endowed with great comfort. Among them the most excellent, thought of as abode of the gods, was Takkārikā, an object of envy.

3. This town, Vāstu himself took for his residence, that his race, and unique treasure in bestowing all kinds of benefits, blessed with worthy people (and) a resort of the twice-born, might stay there till the end of the universe.

4. (And) in this (town) which by crowds (of students) was made to resound with the chants of *Vedas*, there were born in Vāstavya family those kāyasthas, whose fame has filled (and rendered), white like swans, all the worlds, illuminating the quarters.

5-6. From that race sprang a matchless personage to whom, even while he was in his mother's womb, quickly sped the fourteen sciences and all the arts together,[182] as long-

[181] Kielhorn's translation has been followed.

[182] i.e. the four *vedas*, the six Vedanagas, the Mimaṃsā, Nyāya, Dharamśāstra and the Purāṇas.

eyed damsels hasten to a lover graced with beauty, openly betraying their grief at having (so long) been kept from him; (a personage) named Jājuka, who was endowed with the title of a *ṭhakkura* by king Gaṇḍa, invincible in battle, appointed to superintendent at all times of all the affairs (of the state).

7. And having pleased the king, that unique ornament of the circle of princes, the primeval Gadādhara, as it were, whose abode is imperishable. (Jājūka) who was to the kāyastha race what the sun is to the multitude of lotus-groups, soon also obtained the village Dugauḍa, as a grant.[183]

8. In his lineage was born, an ornament of the earth, Māheśvara, thoroughly familiar with every branch of the letters (and) endowed with beauty like the moon, preventing (others) from falling into the pit of darkness of delusion (and himself) going after good deeds.

9. Having served the illustrious prince Kīrttivarman, the crest jewel of the princes in the yellow mountain districts, he received the title of *Viśiṣa* of Kalinjara accompanied by (the grant of) Pipalāhikā.

10. In the great family, beloved by good, was born Gadādhara, a favourite counsellor. That wise man was entrusted with the his office of Chamberlain, by king Parmarddin after due consideration.

11. His younger brother, sharing his work was Jauṇādhra, always delighting in deeds of war (and) striving after final liberation. Following the path of heroes, both fought on the excellent mountain of Kalinjara with showers of arrows (?).

12. And he also had another (younger brother) named Mālādhara, pre-eminent among heroes, who took delight in wars, always honoured by the gods with flowers of the tree of paradise.

13. In the course of time was born in that (family), the prudent Ālhū, whose administration of streets (*pratolī*) was pleasing; who keeping down wickedness, full of energy, always dwelt happily in the fort.

183 Tāmraka means copper-plate on which a deed is engraved, here clearly denotes the object granted by such deed.

14. His charming son again was Śobhana, endowed with good fortune, who resplendent with many excellent qualities, adorned the quarters with his wonderous exploits.

15-16. And his son, a store of knowledge (and) in appearance like the Vidyādhara, was Vīdana. Having entrusted the realm to him, the king indeed enjoyed lasting comfort. He had a son distinguished for excellent qualities, who, one may say, was called Vāse, because the minds of the people as well as that of king Trailokyavarman were about to prove to be submissive to him.

17. Esteeming him competent for the work, the king appointed him to the office of *Viśiṣā* over the fort named Jaya, and gave him the well-known village Varbhavarī, to be his for ever.

18. There that ornament of the Vāstavya race, being aware that life is brief and desirous of securing eternal life, made his transient body[184] build a beautiful temple and a charming tank full of good water.

19. (And) there the wise Vāśeka, who was to the armies of opposing chiefs, what a forest fire is to brushwood, sent the irresistble Bhojuka, who seized with the frenzy of war, was rending the kingdom in two, in battle to the abode of death, and thus made Trailokyavarman again the ornament of princely families.

20. Having rendered the kingdom free from thorns and prosperous, so that every place was inhabited by crowds of virtuous people, and having made it resplendent with his generosity and properly secured all frontiers, he took his abode, humbling the pride of Indra's home, on the mountain Jayapura, which turned into a pleasant street (*pratolī*), and was like *Kailāśa* as a place of residence.

21. His younger brother, of pure fame and famous the earth over, was eminent Ānanda, whom men declare to have been rightly so named[185] because he always gladdened people (even) from afar.

[184] Literally 'the body which has not the attribute of (eternity').
[185] *Ananda* means joy.

22. Judging him as one who knew no fear, the king, made him governor of the fort; (and as such), he reduced to submission the wild tribes of Bhillas, Śabaras and Pulindas.

23. His son was Rucira, resplendent in all the sciences and arts, who, when he roamed about on the battlefields, with ease crippled fierce crowds of opponents.

24. In the fort of Jaya he reverently worshipped with folded hands the holy Durgā, glorifying in strains of praise the fierce destroyer of powerful demons.

25. Distinguished for excellent qualities, only engaged in good deeds, destroying wickedness (and) setting store only on good men, versed in sciences and in the knowledge of arms (and) proficient in arts, he always shone, endowed with good fame.

26. His son was Gopati, purified by knowledge (and) deserving adoration from princes; a man in whom fortune and eloquence harmoniously dwelt together, praiseworthy (and) an unique object of veneration for good men.

27. His younger brother was Mahipāla, who shone, eminent for both beauty and bravery; when the god of love saw how he had taken possession of all hearts, he vanished, bowed down with shame.

28. Glorious is his younger brother, in every way famous, Subhaṭa, who is the one mansion of the play of fortune, the most excellent of the virtuous, the leader of the eloquent, fit for the assemblies of princes, praiseworthy for his character.

29. Eagerly striving to benefit others (and) accomplishing his objects by what he engaged in, he became permanently chief superintendent of the treasury of the illustrious king of Bhojavarman.

30. Long and greatly may Subhaṭa, the lord of the treasury, whose only thought is of what is right, prosper! He, who though at the head of all weighty affairs, is both trustworthy and full of knowledge, who, as the counsellor of the illustrious ruler Bhoja, is widely famed for his excellent qualities, who delights in bestowing on others benefits without end (and) is full of benevolence!

31. The world is a home of the three kinds of pain, sorrow . . . unstable, like the motion of a swing is our wealth; and short is the life of man. His religious merit only goes with him, who, departing from his life, enters another body; for that cannot leave him. (Thus reflecting Subhaṭa) ordered a temple to be built . . . .[186]

32. Then there were born the three most intelligent sons of Mahipāla, Kirtipāla of great fame, a youth who resembled the god of love . . . . . .

42. Image Inscription of Ajayagaḍh Fort

Noticed in *AR*, *ASI*, 1935–6, p. 92; Reported in *ARIE*, 1960–70, List No. B 194. Photograph of the inscription obtained by courtesy of the Chief Epigraphist, Mysore. The text is given here for the first time.

The inscription is engraved below the image of a Śiva-linga with a (male or female) devotee carved in relief, on a rock near Tirhawani gate of Ajayagaḍh fort. It is written in Sanskrit in Nagari script and is dated V.S. 1345/A.D. 1288.

The inscription records that Devallavalladevi, the daughter of *ṭhakkura* Davaṁdhara and wife of Suhaḍadeva (the great-grandson of *ṭhakkura* Vadina, who was the chief of Jayapura-durga i.e. Ajayagaḍh) had an image of herself carved, as well as the images of the deities, Saptmī, Surabhī, Śiva Jivantaputrikā and Gaurī. Vadina, named in this inscription, is also mentioned in Inscription no. 41. dated V.S. 1345/A.D. 1288.

Text:

कायस्थ वास्तव्य वंशे -------जयपुर दुर्गाधिकारी ठक्कुर श्री
वदिन पुत्र श्री ठक्कुर श्री वाशेक पुत्र ठक्कुर श्री ------ भार्या
श्री सुहडदेव --------ठक्कुर देवंधरस्य पुत्री श्री देवल्लवल्ल देवी
नाम्नास्य प्रतिमा सप्तमी सुरभि शिव जीवन्तपुत्रिका गौरीरतः
प्रतिमाः कारिताः। वि० संवत् १३४५ समय्यर्ये(समये)

[186] It is not possible to reconstruct the text of this verse.

Translation:

In the Vāstavya family of Kāyasthas . . . the officer of Jayapurdurgga, *ṭhakkura* Śrī Vadina (his) son Śrī *ṭhakkura* Śrī Vāseka (and his) son *ṭhakkura Śrī* . . . . . the wife of Suhaḍadeva . . . . . and *ṭhakkura* Śrī Devamdhara's daughter named Śrī Devallavalladevī caused the images Sapatmī, Surabhī, Śivā, Jivantaputrikā, Gaurī (and) herself in v.s. 1345.

43. Ajayagaḍh Rock Inscription

Reported by Cunningham, *ASR*, XXI, p. 53. Text given by him in transliteration.

Found on a rock by the side of a female figure near Ajayagaḍh fort, this inscription consists of eleven lines written in Sanskrit in Nagari script. The inscription is badly damaged, but some of the words were read by Cunningham, who also says that several isolated letters are legible. It is dated v.s. 1346/A.D. 1289.

Bhovarman is presumably Bhojavarman, ruler of the Candella dynasty. He ruled over the territories surrounding Ajayagaḍh from A.D. 1286 to 1289.[187]

Text:[188]

संवत् १३४६ समये
----------जयपुर दुर्गे
महाराज श्री भो वर्म्म दे(व) ------।

Translation:

In the Samvat year 1346 Mahārāja Śrī Bhovarmmade (deva) (ruled) at Jayapuradurgga.

[187] N.S. Bose, op.cit., pp. 112–3.
[188] Text reconverted into Devanagari from Roman transliteration by Cunningham.

44. Sati Inscription at Ajayagaḍh Fort

Reported in *AR*, *ASR* 1935–6, p. 93. H.L. Sastri, *Madhuri*, V, pt. 2, No. 2; *EI*, XX, p. 135.

This inscription was found on a stone at Ajayagaḍh fort and is written in Sanskrit in Nagari script. The text of the inscription is not available. It is dated v.s. 1346 Māgha Badi 14, Wednesday/24 November A.D. 1288.

It records the name of the King Bhojavarman of Candella dynasty. N.S. Bose states that this is the last dated inscription of Bhojavarman.[189] (But see ins. no. 45 which is dated Samvat 1346/ A.D. 1289). The text of this inscription is not available.

45. Charkhari Copper-Plate Inscription

Edited by Rai Bahadur Hiralal Shastri, *EI*, *XX*, pp. 134–6.

The inscription was found in Charkhari tehsil in Hammirpur district. It consists of twenty lines written in Sanskrit in Nagari script and measures $11^1/_2'' \times 8^3/_4''$. It is dated v.s. year 1346, on the 12th day of the dark fortnight of the Bhādrapada, Puṣya nakshatra, Sunday/11 September A.D. 1289.

The purpose of the plate is to record the grant of Kokaḍ village in the Saith *viṣaya* by Hammiravarmandeva to Pandita Āme and Pandita Śrīdhara of the Bhāradvāja *gotra*.

Hammiravarman, the successor to Bhojavarman, was the last king of the Candella dynasty. He ruled from A.D. 1288 to 1310. On the basis of this plate, Rai Bahadur Hira Lal suggests that there was an 'usurpation of the throne' unless Bhojavarman had died in the same year before the issue of the Charkhari grant.[190] N.S. Bose points out that the last dated inscription of Bhojavarman is the Sati inscription of Ajayagaḍh fort (no. 44) which is dated v.s. 1346 Māgha Badi 14 Budha/24 November A.D. 1288, whereas this plate is dated 11 September A.D. 1289. But Hira Lal probably had in mind ins. no. 43 of v.s. 1346/A.D. 1289 from Ajayagaḍh. Moreover, this omits the name of Bhojavarman, though it mentions three previous Candella rulers (Parmarddideva, Trailokyavarmma and Vīravarm-

189 N.S. Bose, op.cit., p. 113.
190 *EI*, XX, p. 135.

madeva) with many honorifics, and this may either indicate that he was not the father of Hammiravarman,[191] or that he was not recognized by the latter as his rightful predecessor.

An interesting feature of the inscription is that all the kings (of the Candella dynasty) are given the title *Sāhi* which occurs for the first time in Candella inscriptions. This may be a result of Persian influence from the neighbouring Sultanate.

Another significant fact is that Hammiravarmandeva gave up the important title of *Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara* which was borne by his predecessors. This indicates that he was either conscious of his reduced position or that he was recognized only as the *Mahārājā*, while someone else (possibly Bhojavarman himself) carried the higher title.

The village of Kokaḍ and the *viṣaya* Saith could not be identified.

Text (as read by Rai Bahadur Hīra Lal):

१. (ओं)सिद्धिः। जयत्याल्हा(ा)दयन्विश्वं विश्वस्वर(श्व)
र शिरोधृतः। चे(चं)द्रात्रये नरेद्राणां वंशस्च(श्चं)द्रं

२. इवोज्वल (लः) ॥१॥ [Anuṣṭubh]
तर्त्र(त्र) प्रवर्द्धमाने विरोधिविजय-
भाजिन्पु (ष्णु)जयशक्ति विजय(श)क्तयादिरी(वी)रावे(वि)—

३. भ्रार्व(भाव)भास्वरः(रे)। परम भट्टारे(र)क महाराजा-
धिराज परमस्व(श्व)र पर(म)माहेश्वर भा(सा)हि

४. महाराज(श्री)मसरं(मत्पर)मर्द्दि(दे)व पदानुध्यात्(त)।
परमभट्टारक महाराजाधिराजपर-

५. मेस्य(श्व)र परममाहेसरे(श्वर)साहिर(म)हाराजा
श्रीत्रैलौक्यवर्म्मदेव पादानुध्यात॥ परमभट्टारक(म)हारा-

६. जाधिराज परतेस्व(मेश्व)र परममाहेस्रे (श्वर)
साहि महाराज श्री मद्वीरवर्म्मद(देव)पदानुध्यात॥
परमभट्टारके—

७. (क)साहिराजा प(व)लत्रिभो(यो)पेत काल(लं)जरा(धिप)
ति महाराजा श्रीमद (हह)म्मीरवर्म्म(देवो)विजय(यी)।
स एव(ष) रू(दु) र्व्विषह-

[191] N.S. Bose, op.cit., p. 113.

८. तर प्रतापतावि(पि)तरा (स)कल रि(पु)
कुल(लः) कुलवधुमिव वसुन्धरानिराकुलां व
(प)रिपालयन (न्न) विकल विवेकानि-

९. र्स(र्म्म) लीह(क्ष)तमतिसा(र)स्माभिः॥ वेदेसैथ
विषयान्त(न्तः) पाति(ति) कोकड ग्राम गतान्ब्रा-
ह्मणन्यांश्च(ग्रामोपगता—ब्राह्मणनन्याश्च) मानंकुटुंबि

१०. कायस्थानापतिमहरश्चदन्यावरने दधीवर चांडाल प्रजान्तान्सं (मान-
कुटुम्बिकायस्थानापतिमहरमेदधीवरचाण्डाल
पर्य्यन्तान्)स वो(बो) धयति समाज्ञापयति
च। व(अ) स्तु वः संविदित यथा(थो)

११. परिलिखितोयं ग्रामः सजलस्थल(लः) सस्थाय(व)
र जगंमम(जंगमः) ससीरा(स्वसीमा) वछिन्न
(च्छिन्नः)साधउर्द्धभूतभविष्य वर्तमा-

१२. ना(न) नि(निः) (शेषादायसहितः) र(प्र) ति(षि)द्ध
चाटादिक(प्रवेशः) लोणगरः—पसरणरधभू-
रूहनिधि निशेष(लवणाकर पाषाणवन भूरूह निधि
निक्षेप) (सहितः) स (वा) (बा) ह्याभ्यन्तर(रः)
अपरै(रपि) व(स्तु) (भिः)

१३. संवत(त्) १३४६ समये॥ भार(द्र) पदप(व) दिं १२ खौ।
पुष्य नक्षत्रे॥ भार्द्वा(रद्वा) ज गोत्रा(य) ठःसुभराज प्रपौत्राय ठ०
वि(द्या) –

१४. धरप्र पौत्राय ठ० सढेल पुत्राय पं श्रीधर पं आभे(उभाभ्यां) त्रा
(ब्रा) ह्माणभ्यां(को) कडग्रामो------तोऽस्मली (स्माभिः?) विजा-

१५. वड? वराश्वा? वाषालि----संकल्पेण(न) प्रदत्त(इ) ति।
इति मत्वा मन्य(भवद्भि) राज्ञा श्रवण विधेयैभूत्वा भाग-

१६. भोगादिंक समुपने तव्यं॥ वहु(बहु) भिर्व्वसुधां(धा)भुक्ता राजभि
स्सगरादिभिः। यस्य यस्य यदा भू(मि) त (स्त)

१७. तस्य तस्य तदा फलं॥१॥ [Anṣṭubh]
षष्टि(षष्टिं) वर्ष महपा(सहस्रा)
णि स्वर्गे वसति भूमि दः। आछेता(आच्छेता) वानुमन्ता च तानेव
(तान्येव) न—

१८. रकं व्रजेत ॥१२॥ [Anuṣṭubh]
स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वायो हरेत्व (तं व) सु (सुं) धरां। म
(स) विष्ठा वा (यां) क्र (क्क) मिभूर्त्वा पितृभिस्सह मज्जित ॥३॥
[Anuṣṭubh]
१९. भूमि षः (यः) प्रति गृहणीयात्यस्तु (प्रतिगृह्णाति यस्तु) भूमि प्रयच्छति।
उभौ तौ पुन्य
(ण्य) कर्म्माणौ नियतौ स्वग्र (र्ग) गामिनौ ॥४॥ पं० शै
२०. पाले (न) लिखितमिति ॥

Translation:[192]

1. Oṁ! Hail! Victory is the lineage of the Candratreya sovereigns brilliant as the moon by reason of its gladdening the universe and its being held on their heads in esteem by the rulers of the world (just as the moon is held on his head by the Lord of the Universe i.e. God Śiva).

2-6. In that family, resplendent with the birth of heroes like Jayaśakti, Vījaśakti and others, shining with ever increasing victory over their foes, (was born) the illustrious king *Sāhi* Hammiravarmadeva, victorious lord of Kalinjar, meditating on the feet of the illustrious *Sāhi* Śrī Vīravarmmadeva, victorious, great devotee of the supreme god (Śiva) supreme lord, king of kings, meditating on the feet of the illustrious *Sāhi* Śrī Trailokyavarmmadeva, supreme lord, king of kings great devotee, of Śiva, etc. who meditated on the feet of the illustrious *Sāhi* Śrī Parmarddideva supreme lord, etc.

7-8. He, protecting the earth without any disturbance as if it were the young bride of the family of enemies who were overpowered by his invincible valour, unobstructed discrimination, informs and instructs the population, residents of the village of Kokaḍ, situated in the territory (*viṣaya*) of Saith—

9-12. Brāhmaṇs, other respected householders Kāyasthas, Barbers, Mehar,[193] Dadhīwar (dhīvara = fishermen?) and Cāṇḍālas

[192] My own translation from Hira Lal's text.

[193] This is an 'impure' caste of menial labourers and village watchmen of the Maratha country, corresponding to the Chamars and Koris of northern India. It seems that Mher, Mehra, Mhao, Dhed Mow, Mar, and Mahār are all corrupt forms of Mehar. R.V. Russell and Hira Lal, *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India*, p. 129; Wilson's *Glossary*, p. 319.

and others. Let it be known to you that this above-mentioned village with (its) land and water, movable and immovable (objects), overhead and underground assests circumscribed, with its boundaries, with its whole produce past, present and future — with access to it prohibited for *Cātas* and others (also granted) with salt-tax, stones, forests, all the trees and all the external and internal things.

13-14. In the Vikrama Samvat 1346, on the 12th day of the dark fortnight of the Bhādrapada in Puṣya nakshatra on Sunday, the above-mentioned village was granted to Pandita Srīdhara and Pandita Āme of Bhāradāvaja *gotra*, belonging to a brāhmaṇa family, sons of the (*ṭhakkura*) Sāḍela grandsons of the Vidyādhara and great grandsons of the (*ṭhakkura*) Subharāja . . . . . after performing a solemn vow . . . . . .

15. . . . . Future monarchs should likewise protect this grant of ours considering that it ought not to be wrested or seized from us.

16. Land has been given by many kings commencing with Sāgara.[194] One enjoys the fruits in accordance with the land one possesses.

17. Those who grant the land live sixty thousand years in heaven and (those who) seize (such) land are tormented in hell for the same period.

18. Either given by himself or any other he who takes away the possession of (such) land remains an insect in excreta and sinks under water with his ancestors.

19. The person who grants the land and the one who accepts it, are both blessed with a meritorious deed and will definitely attain heaven.

20. Written by Pandita Pāla.

[194] A mythological ruler.

46. Inscription in the Temple at Ajayagaḍh Fort

Reported by Cunningham in *ASR*, XXI, p. 53 No. L; *ARIE*, 1969–70, List No. B 195.

Engraved near a female figure in the temple at Ajayagaḍh fort, this inscription consists of five lines written in Sanskrit in Nagari script. It is dated in the Samvat year 1349, on the 14th day of the dark half of Jyeṣṭha, on Friday/16 May A.D. 1292.

This inscription is an account of religious worship by a woman who was presumably of some importance and it is possible that the female figure represents the worshipper in question.

Text:

सम्वत्(संवत्) १३४९ ज्येष्ठ वदि १४ शुक्र दिने
साधुमन सुत उमा देव पुत्र
अर्जुन तस्य भार्या गंगो।
नित्य दमय — ह — ईश्वर
प्रणमति ।।श्री।।

Translation:

In the Samvat year 1349, on the 14th day of the waxing moon of Jyeṣṭha, on Friday, Gaṅgo the wife of Arjuna, son of Umādeva the son of Sādhumana performed an adoration ---------- to *Īśavara.*

47. Pillar Inscription of the Lal Darwaza Masjid at Jaunpur

Edited by Cunningham, *ASR*, 1875–8, XI, p. 126; pl. XXXVII, No. 3.
Führer, *Sharqi Architecture*, New Series, 1911, I, pp. 50–1.

This inscription is engraved on the two faces of the third octagonal pillar in the first row of the north-west cloister of the Lal Darwaza masjid at Jaunpur. It consists of ten lines in Sanskrit in Nagari script and is dated in the year *Plava* Samvat[195] 1353, Wednesday, the 12th day of the waning moon of the month Jyeṣṭha/15 May A.D. 1296.

The inscription opens with an adoration of Gaṇapati (Gaṇeśa).

195 *Plava* is one of the 60 years of Jupiter's Cycle or Brihaspati Cakra. Gauri Shankar Ojha, *Bhartiya Prachin Lipimala*, pp. 188–9.

The purpose is to record the construction of a temple of Padameśvara on the north-side entrance of Viśveśvara temple at Kāśi by Padma Sādhu.

The inscription itself indicates that its original site had been a temple (the Viśveśvara temple) at Kāśi (Varanasi). This must have been the same as 'the Bisheshwara temple' mentioned by Sherring in his account of Benaras. The large mosque built by Aurangzeb presently stands on its site. But Sherring records the tradition that 'the Mohammedans as usual transferred its stone to their own mosques and that relics (of the stones) are found at Jaunpur'.[196]

The transfer took place during the reign of Akbar when the Viśveśvara temple, already deserted, was demolished and its stones used by Bāyizīd Bayāt. The latter in his well-known memoirs records the incident thus:

'At that time (1570–71) there was an idol temple, which owing to passage of time had become deserted and become the place of trade of the market people. I purged that place of them and started erecting a *madrasa* for scholars. It was completed around those few days that Rājā (Todarmal) came from a bath (in the river). In that temple there was a pillar 12 *gaz* (32 feet) high; and there was a date in the Hindu characters inscribed on it stating that it had been set up seven hundred years ago. When Bāyizīd took it down, he had it cut into two parts, and the two parts again into four portions each. Six parts of the stone were used in the pillars and slabs of the mosque of the *madrasa*; and two parts were taken by Khwaja (Dost) Muḥammad, *Bakhshī* of the Khān Khānān (Mun'im Khān) who put them on the doorway of the mosque at Jaunpur.'[197]

The remnant of the great pillar or *Lāt* mentioned by Bāyizīd, survives in the mosque built at the site of the Viśveśvara temple; it is thought originally to have been 40 feet high.[198]

Bāyizīd does not say which mosque at Jaunpur obtained the relics from the temple destroyed by him. Mr Iqtidar Alam Khan, to whom I am indebted for guidance on this source, supposes it to have been the defaced Maukhari inscription at the Jami Mosque on the outer arch of the southern entrance.[199] This would otherwise fit in with Bāyizīd's reference to the stone having been placed

[196] M.A. Sherring, *Benaras the Sacred City of Hindus* (Delhi, 1975,) p. 320.

[197] Bāyizīd Bayāt, *Tazkirā-Humāyun O Akbar*, ed. Hidayat Husain, (Calcutta, 1941,) pp. 310–11. I take the *gaz* to be *ilahī gaz* which was about 32 inches.

[198] Führer, *Monumental Antiquities*, p. 206.

[199] Iqtidar Alam Khan, *The Political Biography of a Mughal Noble, Munim Khan-i-Khanan*, 1497–1575, p. 123, fn. 3.

on the door of the mosque. But the explicit reference in the Lāl Darwaza inscription to the Viśveśvara temple of Kāśi leaves little doubt that it comes from one of the two stone parts of the pillar which Bāyizīd Bayāt had sent to Jaunpur. That mosque had been built much earlier in A.D. 1447 by the Sharqi queen Bībī Rājī.

Text (as read by Führer):

औं नमो गणपतये ।। अयोध्यायां
पुरावृतः सत्यवाकसुजन प्रिय (।) स
ढे साधुरिति ख्यात सर्व्व सत्वहिते रतः ।।१।।
तस्य पुत्रोबभूवाथ साधुनिधेति विश्रु-
तः (।) तस्यात्मजः शुचि धीरः षद्मसाधुरयं
भुवि ।।२।। [Anuṣṭubh]
काश्यां विश्वेश्वर द्वारि हिमादिशि
षरोपमम (खरोपमं ?) । पद्मेश्वरस्य देवस्य प्रासाद—
मत्करोत्सुधीः ।।३।। [Anuṣṭubh]
ज्येष्ठे मासि सिते पक्षे
द्वाश्याम्बुध वासरे (।) लिखितेयं सदा
याति, प्रशस्तिः पल्ववत्सरे ।।४।। [Anuṣṭubh]
संवत् १३५३ ।।

Cunningham's reading differs in many places as shown below:

Cunningham	*Führer*
1.1 यमोनयामपुरा	अयोध्यां
1.2 वृद्ध	वृत्तः
1.3 सिद्धेस पुरी	सढे साधुरिति
1.6 यास्यां	काश्यां
1.10 भाति	याति

Translation:[200]

Oṁ, salute to Gaṇapati (Gaṇeśa). Formerly in Ayodhyā (lived) Sadḥe Sādhu, the speaker of truth, beloved of good men, whose delight consisted in the welfare of all beings. His son was the famous Sādhu Nidhi, whose son Padma Sādhu, of steadfast virtue, on the north-side of the entrance to the Viśveśvara temple (looking like a peak or Śikhra?) at Kāśi, built a temple of God Padmeśvara (Viṣṇu). On Wednesday, the twelfth day of the waning moon of the

[200] I have followed Führer's translation with slight changes.

month of Jyeṣṭha, in the year of Plava Samvat 1353, this eulogy is written.

48. Image Inscription Outside the Ajayagaḍh Fort

Reported in *ARIE*, 1969–70, List No. B 186.

This inscription was found on the pedestal of a broken image outside the Ajayagaḍh fort. This is written in corrupt Sanskrit in Nagari script, and dated v.s. 1359, on the 13th day of the bright half of the month Māgha on Tuesday/15 February A.D. 1302. The engraving is badly worn out. The text has not been published.

The inscription evidently records the obeisance of some person (whose identity is uncertain), during the reign of the Candella ruler Hammiravarmmadeva. In the last line the names of Arjuna and Prāgadeva are mentioned.

49. Maṇikarnikā Ghat Stone Inscription, Varanasi

Reported in *Bhandarkar's List* No. 652; Edited by M.M. Nagar, *J.U.P. Historical Society*, IX, pt. I (Lucknow 1936), pp. 21–2, with plate; Daya Ram Sahni, *IA*, LIII, p. 209; Reported in *ARIE*, 1952–3, List No. B 458. Preserved at Bharat Kala Bhavan, Benaras.

This inscription was discovered by Sri Rai Krishan Das (Honorary Curator, Bharat Kala Bhavan) at Maṇikarnikā Ghat at Benaras. The major part of the upper portion of the inscription is completely lost, as well as a part of the left side. It is therefore difficult to give the metre of each verse. The inscription consists of nine lines in Sanskrit in Nagari script. The size of the letters ranges from $^{3}/_{4}''$ to $1^{1}/_{4}''$. The forms of several letters such as *y*, *s*, *bha*, *gh* and *dha* are unusual. The ordinary signs of punctuation, one line for Ardhavirāma and two for Purṇavirāma are regularly used. As for orthography, the only points to note are the frequent repetition of letters and the similarity in the writing of *n* and *bha*. The date is given in both words and figures. The date in words is given in symbols: *Nanda* (the treasure of Kubera) = 9; *Isu* (arrows) = 5; *Vaiśvanara* (fires) = 3; and *Dharaṇī* (earth) = 1, i.e. 1359 Samvat, Tuesday the 11th day of the dark half of Āṣāḍha/25 June A.D. 1303.

The inscription opens with the conventional praise of an unnamed person, probably the elder brother of Vīreśvara. The eulogy was composed by (M)anodhara (the initial letter Ma is damaged in the text), and engraved by two artisans Somaśrī and Samoda.

Both the brothers appear to have been potentates, for it is said of Vīreśvara, that like his elder brother, he too conquered (all the kings) through his arms.' There is a remote possibility, therefore, that Vīreśvara is identical with a minister of this name who served under the Tirhut ruler Sakrsimha.[201]

Text (as read by M.M. Nagar) : Plate: XI.

१. कार्तिककौमुदी काः कौमोदकीधरकराश्रयश (श्र) य
(स्य।)

२. मा (मो) दाय॥ उद्याने निवसत्यमुष्यनिभृतः किन्नामकल्पद्रुमः।

३. (वि) श्रम्य सुरद्रुमाणामध्यास्य चिन्तामणि वेदिकाश्र।
विश्राणान य (स्य) वि—

४. णैमणिमहोभरैस्त्रुटितबन्धमन्धन्तमः॥ यस्यानुजो भुज विनिर्जित

५. (प्रा) सादं मणिंकण्णिक्केश्वर विभोव्वौरेश्वरः श्रेयसे। एत्त यो विदधे—

६. कीर्त्त्या पवित्री कुरुताद्धरित्रीम्॥ सरसनरसनासम्भावितासौ
प्र-

७. घ वदावदाता। नक्षत्रमाला गुणवत्यसौ चेत्तदाहृदि ज्ञाननिधेनि

८. (म) नोधरेण कृतिनाऽलेखि प्रशस्तिः शुभा॥ अब्दे नन्देषु वैश्वानर धर
(ण)

९. (स) म्बत १३५९ आषाढ वदि ११ भौमै। स्थपति मोमश्री समोदाभ्या-
मुत्कीर्ण्णचेति॥

[201] Radhakrishna Choudhary, *History of Muslim Rule in Tirhut*, (A.D. 1206–1765) (Varanasi, 1970,) pp. 45, 48, 53, 239.

[202] Nagar has read this akshara as शा instead of क्ष.

Translation:[203]

1. The protection-giving Viṣṇu, under whose hands in pleasure, the holder of the mace, is as pleasant as the moonlight of Kārttike.

2. One of the *Kalpataru* (wishing tree) which stands in a grove, in a solitary state, to which category that *Kalpataru* belongs . . . . . .

3. Comfortably sitting . . . . . the Cintāmaṇi altar exists in the midst of the heavenly trees.

4-5. With the weight of lustre of the jewel, the limit of thick darkness has vanished; similarly his younger brother Vīreś-vara has conquered (all the kings) through his arms ------ who has installed the temples of Maṇikarṇikeśvara (Śiva) through his own efforts . . . . . may good be to all.

6. . . . . purifying the earth through his fame, and his mild speech, he has made possible the impossible.

7. Learned and famous like the chain of planets, his heart was full of the treasure of knowledge.

8. (M)anodhara has written this eulogistic document through his efforts. May (he be) prosperous. In words (the date measured as) Kubera, arrows, fire and earth.

9. Installed in the Samvat year 1359, on Tuesday, the 11th day of the dark half of the month Āṣāḍha, this was engraved by two artisans, Somaśrī and Samoda.

50. Image Inscription at Hammirpur District

Report by A. Führer, *Monumental Antiquities*, p. 171.

Two miles to the west of Hammirpur lies the village of Badanpur, which has a *khera* or a ruined village-site. In the village there is an inscribed image under a *neem* tree. The inscription is written in Nagari script and is badly worn out. It is dated V.S. 1363/A.D. 1306. The text is not available.

[203] My own translation from M.M. Nagar's text.

51. Ajayagaḍh Fort Slab Inscription

Reported in *ARIE*, 1969–70, List No. B 187.

A broken inscribed slab lies in the Jain temple of a ruined *basti* of Ajayagaḍh fort. The inscription is written in corrupt Sanskrit in Nagari script. It is dated v.s. 1365, the month of Pauṣa Sunday/ A.D. 1308. The text is not available.

This, evidently, is a *satī* inscription. A person (whose name is not legible) died and his wife Kucaladevi committed *satī*. The word *satī* (spelt *suttee* by the older English writers) is derived from the verbal root, '*sat*', which means real, true, good or virtuous.[204] Therefore a *satī* was a woman who possessed these qualities; and hence one who chose to die on the death of her husband and was burnt along with his corpse.[205]

52. Ajayagaḍh Sati Inscription

Reported by Hira Lal Sastri, *EI*, XX, p. 134, fn. 2; *Madhuri*, II, pt.II, No. 2.

Found at Ajayagaḍh fort, this incription consists of four lines written in Sanskrit in Nagari script. The palatal *s* is replaced by the dental *s*. The inscriptions is dated Samvat year 1368, on Wednesday, the 6th day of bright half of the month Śrāvaṇa/20 July A.D. 1311.

This is a *satī* inscription of the reign of the Candella ruler Hammiravarmmadeva.

Text :

संवत् १३६८ समये श्रावण सुदि ६ बुधे
सती बाल सुभट्ट मैन सा सुमै ? श्रीमहा-
राज श्री हम्मीरवर्म्म देव राज्ये
सुभौ मंगल करोति

[204] Monier Williams, *Sanskrit English Dictionary*, s.v.; *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*. (New York 1959,) XI, p. 207.

[205] We begin to get casual references to the custom of *satī* from about 300 B.C. onwards. One or two cases are mentioned in the epics like Mahabharata. (A.S. Altekar, *The Position of Women in Hindu Civilization*, p. 120; A.L. Basham, op.cit. pp. 187–9.) The first memorial to a *satī* is found at Eran near Saugar district in Madhya Pradesh, where a brief inscription is engraved on a pillar in A.D. 510 11. Hiralal, *Inscriptions in Central Provinces and Berar*, (Nagpur 1916,) p. 45, Ins. No. 56.

Translation:[206]

In the Samvat year 1368, on Wednesday, the 6th day of bright half of the month Śṛāvaṇa, during the reign of Śrī Mahārājā Hammiravarmmadeva, Bāla Subhaṭṭa (became) *satī* ..... may fortune attend.

53. Ajayagaḍh Fort Inscription

Reported by Cunningham *ASR*, XXI, p. 53, Ins. No. M.

This inscription is engraved on the upper round step of the temple at the Ajayagadh fort. It comprizes two lines written in a local dialect in Nagari script and is dated Samvat year 1371/A.D. 1314. The inscription is badly damaged.

The purpose of the inscription is not clear; it is possibly the record of a pilgrimage.

Text (as read by Cunningham):

Phūlahe Raushahne putra Jyarti
tranamati cha ll
Sam 1371

Translation:

Jyarti, son of Phulahe Raushane, — Samvat 1371.

54. Ajayagaḍh Fort Inscriptions

Reported by Cunningham *ASR*, XXI, p. 54, Ins. No. n; p. 53. Ins. No. 0.

Two inscriptions of the same year were found inside the Ajayagaḍh fort. One is engraved to the west of the gateway outside the fort and consists of twelve lines written in Sanskrit in Nagari script. It is dated Samvat year 1372/A.D. 1315.

The purpose of the inscription is not clear. Cunningham suggests that this record belongs to Vīravarmma II of the Candella dynasty.

[206] My own translation.

This inscription is apparently undecipherable because the incisions have disappeared through whitewash.[207]

The second inscription has been engraved on the pillar of the fort's gate. It consists of fifteen lines in the local dialect in corrupt Nagari script. The date given is Samvat year 1372 Pauṣa badi 10 Śanau / Saturday 22 November A.D. 1315. It is a damaged record, but its text has been reproduced in part.

This inscription begins with the adoration of Gaṇeśa. The fort of Jayapurvva (Ajayagaḍh) is mentioned in the first line and the ruler, Vīra *nṛpāṇ*, in line twelve. The purpose of the inscription is not clear.

Cunningham says that Vīravarman II was the successor of Bhojavarman.[208] However, the Charkhari copper-plate inscription and the *satī* pillar inscription cited above (nos. 44, 45) indicate that Hammiravarman succeeded Bhojavarman and ruled at least until 1310–11. The epithet *Paramabhaṭṭāraka sāhi rājavali traya-Bhūpati Kālinjarādhipati Mahārāja — Śri . . .* is mentioned in the Charkhari copper-plate inscription for Śrī Hammiravarmandeva.[209] However, these epithets do not give the full royal titles of his ancestors. This might represent the ruler's reduced position,[210] but there is little doubt that Hammiravarman continued to rule over Kalinjar, Ajayagaḍh and the neighbouring areas.

Surprisingly, the inscriptions of Vīravarmma II are not mentioned either by N. S. Bose or by H. C. Ray. However, these inscriptions clearly indicate that Vīravarmma II succeeded Hammiravarman, some time between A.D. 1310–11 and 1315. Cunningham indeed refers to another inscription of Vīravarman at Ajayagaḍh; but he offers no further details, and the inscription has not been traced.[211]

The absence of epithets with the name of the ruler Vīra or Vira *nṛpāṇ* suggests a further decline in the Candella ruler's position. It is quite likely that he was a feudatory chief under the Sulṭāns of Delhi. Damoh and Jabalpur had already been annexed by the Sulṭāns.[212]

[207] Cunningham, *ASR*, XXI, pp. 54, 83, 88.
[208] Ibid., pp. 54, 83, 88.
[209] *EI*, XX, pp. 132–4, Supra Ins. no. 44.
[210] Bose; op.cit., pp. 113–14; *DHNI*, II, pp. 734–5.
[211] Cunningham, *ASR*, XXI, p. 53, Ins. no. M.O.
[212] *EI*, XVI, pp. 10, 11, fn. 2, 4.

Text:

१. औं गण्पतये नमः ----- जयपूर्व्व
२. कं पुर मे ----- सस्वजने भोजः
३. -------- श्री हनुमान
४. ------- नरेश
५. चारू रमणी। लीला लाव्यातुरो
६. नाम्नः। ----- त्रपुरा कुमारे
७. सुघन्य सुतः
८-११. ----------
१२. -------- वीरा निपाणं त्रिलोकी
१३. ------- वर्म्म श्री ज्येष्ठ मासे
१४. ------- पुण्यणयामे गात्॥ संवत् १३७२ पौष
१५. --------- वदि १० शनौ

Translation:

'Salute to Śrī Gaṇeśa. In Jayapurvva . . . Śrī Hanumān . . . a lovely beautiful young woman . . . . . son . . . . . the king . . . . Vīra . . . . . In the Samvat year 1372 Pauṣa badi 10 Saturday.'

55. Deogarh Fort Inscription

Reported in *ARIE*, 1966–7, List No. C 2407, C 2408, C 2409, Noticed in *PRASI*, (*NC*) 1917–18, No. 42. Impressions preserved in the Chief Epigraphist's Office, Mysore. My own decipherment and translation.

Three inscriptions have been found on the sculptured pillar of the Jain temple 'No. 10' at Deogarh fort. All are written in Sanskrit in Nagari script and belong to the fourteenth century.

Inscription A contains the praise of Muni Mahānandi of Nandi-saṁgha, who, it is stated, observed a fast for a month. Inscription B is in praise of a certain Bhāvadeva. Inscription C, honours a Jaina teacher, Prabhācandra Suri.

(A) *Text:*

मासो पर्वास्या इन्दरी निवा
सी ------- वरती (व्रत)
ता सौ श्रीमहानन्दी मुनि (नी)
नाम्ना नन्दी ------- नंदी सघा

Translation:

A Muni (ascetic) named Śrī Mahānandi of Nandi . . . saṁgha . . . observed a fast for a month.

(B) *Text:*

ब्रह्यचारी सदाचारी यो
-------- शील सागरः। सोयं
श्री भावदेवाख्यौ विश्व
विद्या ------ वित्न ----------

Translation:

(One who) observes celibacy, (and is) virtuous . . . (and) well behaved. (He) is known as Śrī Bhāvadeva in this world.

C. *Text:*

प्रभा चन्द्र जी सूरी जिन पति मतां
--------- प्रक्षेपतम्

Translation:

Jina Prabhācandraji Suri . . . . . forwarded.

56. Rajgathi Inscription

Reported in *ARIE*, 1959–60, List No. C 527.

Found on a slab at Rajgathi in Jhansi district. Written in Sanskrit in the Nagari script, assigned to the fourteenth century. A damaged record; only the name 'Devanandi' is readable.

57. Deogarh Fort Inscription

Noticed in *PRASI (NC)* 1917–18, Ins. No. 40;
Reported in *ARIE*, 1969–70, List No. C 2988.

This inscription was found in a Jain temple (No. 6) in the Deogarh fort. It is written in Sanskrit in Nagari script, and is influenced by the local dialect. The date given is V.S. 1382, Māgha Sudi 5 Monday/ 9 January A.D.1325.

A list is given of Jain teachers, headed by Keśavacandra Kumadācharya *anvaya* (follower) of the Mulasaṁgha. It is stated that Mahākīrttideva, the disciple of Ratnakāntideva, was initiated.

The inscription evidently records the setting up of the pillar on which it was engraved by Svayambhavadeva. Two other names, Jinasena and Harisena, are also given. The remaining portion could not apparently be deciphered.

Neither the text nor the translation of this inscription have yet been published.

58. Deogarh Fort Inscription

Reported *PRASI, NC*, 1917–18, No. 53. Impression in the Chief Epigraphist's Office, Mysore.

Found on a detached pillar in the *maṇḍapa* of the Lakhputli temple in the Deogarh fort, this inscription comprises six lines in corrupt Sanskrit in Nagari script. It is dated Samvat 1384/A.D. 1327. The impression of the inscription is unclear, and the text could not be deciphered.

59. Chunar Fort Inscription

Edited by Dr W.H. Mill in *JASB*, Calcutta, 1836, V, pp. 342–8 with plate. Reported by Kielhorn *IA*, XIX, p. 185, No. 144, Bhandarkar's List No.693; Führer, *Monumental Antiquities*, p. 258.

This inscription, which is badly damaged, was found over the gateway of the famous Chunar fort in Mirzapur district. It contains eleven verses in Sanskrit in Nagari script. Some of the missing portions have been restored by Dr W.H. Mill, apparently by referring to surviving letters. The inscription is dated v.s. 1390, in the Bhādra month, the fifth day of the waning moon on Thursday/ Thursday, 5 August A.D. 1333. Its present whereabouts are unknown.

The inscription states that Sairāja was originally a minister in the service of Svāmirāja, the ruler of the district on the banks of the Gaṅgā 'opposite' Kasi. Chunar was evidently his capital. Later, Sairāja served as a 'minister' (*āmatya*) under Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughluq of Delhi.

Sairāja sent a commander called Shāhābuddīn with an army against Chunar. Shāhābuddīn occupied the fort of Chunar twice, driving away Svāmirāja. The second time the forces were led by a 'Turuṣka commander called 'Dos' (Dost?). However, Svāmirāja at last succeeded in reoccupying Chunar, and the inscription

celebrates that event which presumably took place in A.D. 1333. Malik Shāhābuddīn cannot be identified.

The inscription gives the names of Svāmirāja's father and grandfather about whom no information is available from local traditions or chronicles. Mahdi Husain (*Tughluq Dynasty*, p. 337) erroneously speaks of Svāmirāja as the 'Hindu ruler of Benaras' and the regained fort as that of Benaras. This, of course, would be hardly credible, though this is even accepted in the *Comprehensive History of India*, V, p. 565.

The early history of Chunar is rather obscure. The name is said to be an abbreviation of *Caraṇadri* or foot-step hill and it has the 'real foot print of some divine being of the Dvāparyuga who in stepping from the Himalayas to Cape Komorin, rested his foot upon this hill and impressed it with his mark'. 'Others again derive the name from a fancied resemblance to the shape of a foot of the ground plan of the whole upper surface of the rock'.[213] However, Dey records that it was built by the Pala rājās who reigned over Bengal and Bihar from the middle of the ninth to the twelfth century.[214]

The antecedents of Svāmirāja, the ruler who held the fort of Chunar at this time, are unknown; but he may well have been a prince of the dynasty of Battha Gahora, important in the Sultanate period, and precursor of the later principality of Rewa.

Text (as read by W. H. Mill):

ओं गणपतये नमः

१. काशियारे पुरायोऽभूद्देवको नामनामतः ।
तत्सुतः सेवनो नाम मण्डलार्को महायशाः ।। [Anuṣṭubh]

२. सोऽधिपो यस्याद्विख्यातो विशालो भुवनाधिपैः ।
सुधीभिर्वेष्ठित शम्भोः पदपद्ममधुव्रतः ।। [Anuṣṭubh]

३. तस्माच्चन्द्रगणो जातः सदयो देवभक्तिमान् ।
सर्व्वराज गुणैर्युक्तो विश्वेशपुर पालकः ।। [Anuṣṭubh]

४. स्वामिराजोऽनुजस्तस्य राजा जयति धार्म्मिकः ।
प्रस (न्न सर्वभूतान) ं (शासनज्ञः सतां) मुदे ।। [Anuṣṭubh]

[213] *Monumental Antiquities*, p. 258; Atkinson, op.cit., XIX, pt. I, p. 126.
[214] N. L. Dey, op. cit., pp. 46–8.

५. साहबदीनादि दुष्टात्मयवनेन्द्र महम्मदा
सैराजो मि (लि तोऽम) त्यो वैरिणपि कृपानिधिः ।। [Anuṣṭubh]

६. गंगारोधसि (तेनैव नुन्ना सेनां परो) ष्वितः ।[215]
ततश्रुत्वा च ततः कुद्धुमजे (यारिमवे नृपः) ।। [Anuṣṭubh]

७. अतः स्वं पीतिभि लोर्के चेरू स्वानै (श्च) रक्षि (तुं)
(स्वामिराजादयो दुर्गः वीराः) संमर्द्धतो द्वि (षां) ।। [Anuṣṭubh]

८. ततस्तु सर्व्वे शयिनोऽतीतास्ता हि (भयोमर्ध्ः) ।
(यवनानां तदा सेना तद्दुर्ग प्राविशच्छलात्) ।। [Anuṣṭubh]

९. (यस्मान्न) युज्यते सामात्यजद्दुर्ग कियद्दिनं ।
ननुदानेषु वैरि (भ्यो दत्तेष्विपि यथो चितं) ।। [Anuṣṭubh]

१०. (भूपः) स्वान वितुं (प्ररूह्य तुरथं सस्ता) वकैरावृतां
संग्रामे परवीर दर्पदलनः श्रीस्वामिराजो नृ (पः) ।
(अक्रान्तामवेक्ष्यहन्त शत) दोस्संज्ञं तुरूष्कं परं
संग्र (ामागम) नेखलस्य च पुनः तत्याज दुर्ग स्व्यं ।। [Śardūlavikrīḍita]

११. तस्माद्भगवतीं गत्वा स्थित्वा मत्वा च तत्कृपां ।
ईहया पुनरागत्य चक्रे राज्यमकंटकं ।। [Anuṣṭubh]
संवत् १३९० भाद्र वदि ५ गुरौ सैराज देवन शर—
णागत मलिक सहाब दीन रक्षितं ।। [Anuṣṭubh]

Translation:[216]

Oṁ, salutation to Gaṇapati.

1. Of him, who under the name of Devaka, reigned on the coast opposite Kāśi, the son called Sevana was the sun in the firmament, greatly renowned.

2. That king celebrated as being illustrious by the sovereigns of the world, was ever surrounded by Sages, ever devoted to Śambhu (or Śiva) as the bee is to the lotus.

3. Of him was born Candragaṇa, merciful and devout to the gods, endowed with all kingly virtutes, lord of all guardians of the city.

[215] Read परोवृत्तः or परिवृतः

[216] I have followed W.H. Mill's translation.

4. His younger brother Svāmirāja excels as a religious king, gracious to all creatures and skilfully exercising government to the delight of good men.

5. By Mahammad (Muḥammad), lord of the hostile Yavanas, Sāhabdīn (Shahābuddīn) and the rest though an enemy, was Ṡairāja, the treasure of benignity employed as minister (*amātya*).

6. (By him) from a (far) country (was an army sent to the banks of the) Ganges. (The king) on hearing of this (believed) that an angry and invincible (enemy was approaching).

7. Upon this (Svāmirāja and other brave men) went with horses and men, and the sound of arms to defend from the assault of the (their) (fort) Chunar.

8. Then did all the inhabitants sleep secure, for those (waves of terror) had passed by: (and then the army of Yavanas entered their fort by surprise or by stratagem.)

9. And since pacification was not expedient, he (Svāmirāja) abandoned the fort for some days; only (presents) having been given (to the enemy according to usage).

10. (But once more) to protect his own people, did the noble king Svāmirāja, the crusher of the pride of alien heroes in fight (ascend his chariot), surrounded by applauding heralds: but (having perceived) the great *Turuṣka* warrior, named (Śata) Dos (or him of the hundred arms), at the approach of the hateful one in battle, he again left the fort of his own accord.

11. Thence having approached Bhagavatī (the goddess Annapurṇā devi at her city Benaras), having stayed there and meditated on her benevolence, thence returning with care, he established his kingdom here free from all thorns of trouble.

Samvat 1390 in Bhādra, fifth day of the waning moon, on Thursday, was the kingdom set free from Malik Sāhabdīn (Shahābuddīn) acting under the protecting favour of the aforesaid Ṡairājadeva.

60. Marpha Stone Inscription

Reported by Cunningham, *ASR*, XXI, pp. 18–19, plate. Pogson, *Boondelas*, p. 135.

This inscription was found on the wall of a temple of the Marpha hill fort, which is situated 12 miles to the north-east of Kalinjar and four miles south of Rasin. It consists of three lines written in Sanskrit in Nagari script. The date given is the Samvat year 1404 Kārttika Sudi 14, Thursday/17 October A.D. 1347.

The inscription records a dedication and the name of the fort Maddrappa (Marpha). It mentions Siddhituṅg as the name of the king.

Text:[217]

१. शिवाय नमः ॥ न- श्री मद्दर्प्प- सदुर्ग श्री
देव प्रग्र (हा) प्रति- मान- कली व कुभं दलन
प्रच- दमन

२. ----- निवरित ----- नि दास सुधीः तनयो धारपाल-
स्य दीनानाथ जनास्यवः ॥ शिवभ्य

३. संवत १४०४ कार्त्तिक सुदि १४ गुरौ
सिद्धितुगं राज्ये।

Translation:

Salute to Śiva, In the fort of Maddrappa.

1. Śri deva .....

2. ..... Keeping off ..... Dhārapāla son of Dināṇāth ..... for Śiva.

3. During the reign of Siddhituṅg in the Samvat year 1404 Kārttika Sudi 14 on Thursday.

[217] The plate of the inscription given by Cunningham is not clear and is partly damaged. I have deciphered the text from his plate and my own translation is given here.

61. Allahabad Inscription

Reported in *ARIE*, 1957–8, List No. B 553. Preserved at Allahabad Museum. Accession No. 4783. Text is given here for the first time.

Discovered at Saṁgam in Allahabad, this inscription is engraved on the pedestal of a sculpture of a half male and half female human form. It has six lines in Sanskrit in Nagari script. The second vowel *ā* is not used in some words. The length and size of the words vary throughout the inscription. The inscription itself is badly damaged and the last line has been totally wiped out. The date is v.s. 1405 on the 3rd day of the bright half of Bhādra/17 August A.D. 1349.

The inscription records the death of a person named Mahārāja Śrī Virrajadeva at Saṁgam.

Text: Plate XII.

१. संवतु (संवत्) १४०५ वर्षे
२. भद्रव (भाद्रव) सुदि ३ समे (समये) महा-
३. रज (राज) श्री विररज देव तस
४. मातु काले ..... ग्रा
५. ..... स ..... जौ ..... संगमौ
६. .....

Translation:

In the Samvat year 1405 on the third day of the bright half of Bhādra Mahārāja Śrī Virrajadeva . . . died . . . at Saṁgam.

62. Etawah Fort Inscription

Reported in *ARIE*, 1962–3, List No. B 957, Impression obtained from the Chief Epigraphist's Office, Mysore. Text printed here for the first time.

This stone inscription was found lying in the *kuti* of a 'Baba' near the Etawah fort mound, 2 miles from Etawah city. It has thirteen lines in Sanskrit in Nagari script. In the beginning, the *avagraha* is used unnecessarily. The second semi-vowel *ra* in matra is replaced by the seventh vowel of alphabet *ṛ* i.e. *cakri* in line 2. and *Śrī* is written as *Sṛī*. The date is given in words: *śaśāṅka*

(moon = 1), *viti* (horse = 7), *akṣi* (eyes = 2), *dharā* (earth = 1), i.e. 1271 of the Śaka era; the exact date is given as the bright half of Girijā tithi, Wednesday (?)/11 January A.D. 1350.

The inscription begins with a salutation to Śiva. It records the construction of a memorial stone (*smārakaśila*) by *Mahārājādhirāja* Śuroddharaṇdeva at the outer entrance of a Śiva temple.

The inscription mentions a Cauhan sovereign Śuroddharan, ruling at Etawah in A.D. 1350. Atkinson identifies him as an ally of Tomar *Rāi* of Gwalior, called 'Sumer Shāh, a ruler of Etawah in the middle of the fourteenth century'.[218] Atkinson's information on the name and context of the historical personage is incorrect, but he was essentially right in referring to the *Tārikh-i Mubārak Shāhī*, for there is a figure in this Persian history with whom one can identify the Śuroddharaṇ mentioned in this inscription. In the printed text of the *Tārīkh-i Mubārak Shāhī*, '*Rāi* Sabir and Adharan' are mentioned as *muqqadams* (chiefs) of Etawah who revolted against Sulṭān Fīrūz Tughluq and were defeated in A.H. 779 (A.D 1377–78) by the Sulṭān.[219] The editor notes that one manuscript reads *Rāi Sabir-u adharan wa Muqqadamān* (*Rāi* Sabir-u adharan and other *muqqadams* or chiefs).[220] The name *Rāj* Sabir-ū adharan seems more correct as it is also appears in the texts of the later chronicles.[221]

It is also very similar to the name Śuroddharaṇa in the present inscription. As the same name appears later in the *Tārīkh-i Mubārak Shāhī*, it would seem that Sabīr was an abbreviation, and Sabīru' addharan the full name.

Given below are the details available on this chief from the *Tārīkh-i Mubārak Shāhī*.

[218] Atkinson, *Statistical and Historical Account of the N.W. Provinces of India*, Allahabad 1876, Agra Division, IV, p. 441.

[219] Yahya bin Aḥmad Sirhindī, *Tārīkh-i Mubārak Shāhī* (Persian Text) edited by Hidayat Husain, Astatic Society of Bengal, 1931, pp. 133–4.

[220] Ibid., p. 134, fn. 3.

[221] See *Tārīkh-i Firishta*, edited by Nawal Kishore, p. 153. Firishta describes him as Sarvadhan Rathor; another reading 'Sirvodhun Rathor' is given in the translation by Briggs (*History of the Rise of the Mohammadan Power in India*, 1, p. 275). In the *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī* (tr. by B. De. I, p. 250), the name is mentioned as *Rāi* Sipardādharan of Etawah. The editor has referred to various forms such as Sardādharn, *Rāi* Sar, *Ray* Sarwar and *Ray* Sīr (Ibid. pp. 270, 285, 299). Apparently all these names were scribes' corruptions of Śuroddharaṇa.

AH 779/A.D. 1377 8 Sabiru'adharan and other chiefs of Etawah revolted against Sulṭān Fīrūz. Defeated in battle, they are encouraged, upon their surrender to return to Etawah with their families. (*T.M.*, pp. 133–4).

AH 791/A.D. 1388–9 'Sabir' and other *rāis* and *rānas* unite with the nobles posted in Hindustan to join Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughluq II (*T.M.*, p. 147).

AH 794/A.D. 1391–2 Sabiru'adharan (also called Sabir) revolts in the Etawah territory together with other chiefs and avoids a trap laid for him (*T.M.*, pp. 152–54).

AH 803/A.D. 1400–1 Sabir is defeated in battle with Iqbāl Khān near Patiali on the banks of Kalinadi (*āb-i-Siyāh*) and is pursued to the limits of Etawah (*T.M.*, pp. 169–70).

AH 807/A.D. 1404–5 *Rāi* 'Sabir' together with other *rāis* is besieged in Etawah by Iqbāl Khān and then makes peace (*T.M.*, pp. 172–3).

AH 817/A.D.1414–15 *Rāi* Sabir surrenders to Tājulmulk (*T.M.*, p. 184).

AH 821/A.D.1418–19 *Rāi* Sabir, ruler (*zābiṭ*) of Etawah is besieged in the fort of Etawah by Tājulmulk (*T.M.*, p. 188).

AH 823/A.D. 1420 *Rāi* Sabir is again besieged in the fort of Etawah and agrees to pay the annual tribute which had been previously fixed (*T.M.*, p.191).

AH 824/A.D. 1421 *Rāi* Sabir of Etawah is now dead; his son submits to Malik Sikandar and pays the fixed tribute (*T.M.*, p. 192).

Despite the similarity between the names 'Śabiru'adharaṇ' and 'Śuroddharaṇ', the other information given casts some doubt on whether the *Rāi* Sabir of Etawah, who died in A.H. 823–4 / A.D. 1420 1, was in fact the same person as the Śuroddharaṇa of the Etawah inscription of A.D. 1350. A reign lasting seventy years is hardly plausible. There is even some doubt as to the actual identities 'Sabiru-

adharan' and the ruler called Sabir. 'Sabiru-adharan' is last mentioned in connection with the events of 1391–2, whereas Sabir is mentioned only between the years 1400 to 1421. It is also quite possible that Śuroddharaṇa was the name or designation adopted by three successive chiefs of Etawah.

The year 1350, to which this inscription belongs, is of great interest. Muḥammad Tughluq was still the Sulṭān, though he was out of Delhi during the period, marching from Gujarat into Sind. It is a possibility that in the absence of Muḥammad Tughlaq, the central government's authority had weakened so considerably, that chiefs like Śuroddharaṇa were able to acquire practically independent power in districts within the Doab.

Text: Plate XIII.

१. ओम (ओम्) नमः शिवायः (य)
। सिद्धि ।
२. ऽस्वस्ति सृी (श्री) मदन महाराजाधिराजेश्वरचक्रे (क्रे)
३. श्वेरष्टिका प्रवृताना (त्राता विजितारति महायुधः)
४. सकलकलाकुतूहलः देवराधनतत्परः परमे (श्वरो)
५. पासकः संगरसंहारितशूरः शुरोद्धरनो (णे) देवः ।।
६. शिव मन्दिर स्था (स्थ) वहि द्वारि स्मारक शिलां
तत्र (स्थां)
७. शशांक वीत्यक्षिधरामिते शके
८. सितेन पक्षे गिरिजा तिथौ विधौ ।। [upajāti]
९. ..... वृक्ष ..... साथमिमां शिलामसौ ?
१०. दधाति शुरोद्धरणेधराधिपः ।। [Vaṁśastha]
११. यावदिदुंश्चरवे भांति यावद् भूमौय भानुजा
१२. तावच्छिलेष्टिका दुर्ग स्थितां तिष्ठतु भूतले ।। [Anuṣṭubh]
१३. शुभं भूयात (त्)

Translation:

1. Oṁ! Salute to Śiva.
2. Hail! The paramount sovereign Śrī Madana[222] who was the devotee of Viṣṇu. . . .

[222] Madana is the god of love.

3. . . . had conquered all his enemies, a great warrior,

4. who had all the wonderful skills, engaged in worshipping deities and gods,

5. destroyed all the heroes in battle; such Śurrodharaṇadeva

6. installed a memorial slab at the outer entrance door of the temple of Śiva.

7–8. In the Śaka year (measured) moon (=1), horses (=7) eyes (=2) and earth (=1), 1271 (Śaka year), in the bright half of the Girijā *tithi* on Wednesday (?)

9–10. The lord of the earth, Śurrodharaṇa has laid down the foundation of this stone along with the tree (?)

11–2. Till the moon and sun shine in the sky and the river Yamunā flows on the earth — till that time may this slab exist in the fort on this earth.

13. May good fortune prevail!

63. Marpha Stone Inscription

Reported by Cunningham, op.cit., p. 19. Führer, *Monumental Antiquities*, p. 155. Text not available.

This inscription was found on the pedestal of Jain images in the Marpha fort (see Inscription no. 60 for its site). It is written in Nagari script and is dated Samvat year 1407 and 1408/A.D. 1350–1. The name of Mula Saṁgha is mentioned. The inscription is apparently badly damaged.

64. Son Stone Inscription

Reported in *ARIE*, 1959–60, No. C 573; V.S. Agarwala, *Catalogue of Mathura Museum, No. 216, J.U.P.H.S.*, XXV, 1951–52, p. 156, preserved at Mathura Museum, impression and photograph obtained with the kind permission of the Museum authorities.

This inscription was discovered on a memorial *satī* stone at Son in Mathura district. On the same stone there is a carved figure of a

warrior riding a horse with his wife sitting in front of him. It consists of five lines written in the local dialect in Nagari script and is dated Bhādra Sudi 7, Friday V.S. 1409/12 August A.D. 1352. (The year was either Caitradi or Kartikadi.) The stone has been largely chiselled off and broken so that various portions of the lines on both sides are lost. The inscription is evidently a record of a *satī*. The widow who committed *satī* is probably represented in the carving with her dead husband.

Text: Plate XIV.

सिद्धि संवत १४०९ वर्षे भाद्र मा (से)
सुदि ७ शुक्रवासरे रा (जा)
श्री वाह दी (न) सं सुत प्रम्ह
---------- देश सिंह सती महं--------ही
-------- महेश पुत्री संवत (?)

Translation:

Hail! Samvat year 1409 Bhādra sudi 7 Friday *rājā* Śrī Vāhadīn (?) son of Pramh . . . Deśa Singh . . . *satī* . . . daughter of Maheśa.

65. Lalitpur Stone Inscription

Reported in *ARIE*, 1958–9, List No. C 419. Impression obtained from the Chief Epigraphist's Office, Mysore. Text given here for the first time.

This inscription was found on a pillar of the Bansa Masjid[223] at Lalitpur in Jhansi district. It has seven lines in Sanskrit in Nagari script, and is dated V.S. 1415/A.D. 1358. Neither the month nor the *tithi* (a lunar day) are mentioned in the inscription, which is badly damaged with some of the words missing.

The names of 'Peroj-sāhi, i.e. Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh Tughluq, Sher Khān and Malik Turk are recorded. Sher Khān was an important noble during the reign of Fīrūz Tughluq. After the latter's accession (1351), he was sent in pursuit of Khwāja Jahān, the wazir

[223] 'The most interesting building is the Bansa which is said to have been the octroi office of the Muḥammadan rulers. It is a small building open on three sides, save for a balustrade and supported on highly carved columns which were obviously derived from a pre-existing Chandel building'. (D.L. Drake Brockman, *Jhansi District Gazetteer*, Allahabad, 1929, pp. 188–288.)

of Muḥammad Tughluq, while Fīrūz himself marched to Delhi. The inscription also records the name of the place 'Lalatpur', which is the modern Lalitpur. Malik Turk remains unidentified.

Text: Plate XV.

१. ----------
२. औं। सिद्धि संवतु १४१५ तस्मिन काले-
३. त्यादि राजपति श्री सुरता (त्रा) ण पेरोज साहि-
४. राज्ये कीर्त्तिमेरू दुर्ग -------सेर खां
५. ललतपुर ----------मलिक तुरक
६. -------श्री --------देव -------पति
७. ----------मलिकतुरक देव ऐते ----------

Translation:

Oṁ Siddhi. In the Samvat year 1415, during the reign of *rājpati* Śrī *surtarāṇa* (Sulṭān) Peroj-sāhi . . . *Kirttīmerudurga* (famous and strong fort) . . . Ser Khān of Lalatpur . . . Malik Turk . . . Śrī . . . . . deva . . . . . Malik Turk deva. . . .

66. Bhitari Pillar Inscription

Reported in *ARIE*, 1957–8, No.B552. Preserved at Allahabad Museum: Accession No. 4765. Text given here for the first time.

Discovered on a broken pillar at Bhitari village in Ghazipur District, this inscription is incomplete and fragmentary. It is damaged on the right side as well as the left. It consists of ten lines in Sanskrit as well as in a local dialect in Nagari script. Above the inscription there is a broken figure which appears to be a demon. It is dated v.s. 1417 on the third day of the bright half (of the month Vaiśākh)/20 April A.D. 1360.

The inscription records the death of a person during the reign of Fīrūz Shāh Tughluq.[224]

[224] Afif, *Tārīkh-i Firūz Shāhi* (Persian text), Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1890, pp. 76–7.

Text: Plate XVI.

संवत् १४१७ वै (वैशाख)
-------रई सुदि ३
--------दिने श्री सुर
(त्रा) न पेरोज साहि
(रा) जे पुहदार------की--------नि-------

(The remaining portion of this inscription could not be read).

Translation:

In the Samvat year 1417 . . . on the 3rd day of the bright half (of the month Vaiśākha during the reign of Sulṭān Śrī Peroj Sāhi. . . .

67. Basti Copper Plate Inscription

Reported in *ARIE*, 1960–1, No. A 104. Impression obtained from State Museum, Lucknow (Accession No. 4310). Text given here for the first time.

This copper plate inscription was discovered under the foundations of the house of Kamla Dube, a woman living in Śrīyat village near Chilla Station (N.E. Rly) in Bansi Tehsil, Basti Dist. The copper plate measures $12^{3}/_{4}'' \times 11^{3}/_{4}''$. It consists of two parts: the upper part has eleven lines, and the lower part, four lines. The inscription is in a local dialect mixed with Sanskrit and is written in Nagari script. A few words have also been inscribed in the margin but they are not legible. The script of the upper part has distinct variations in style from the script in the lower part. It seems that the engraving was done by two people. It is dated in both words and figures: Samvat year 1417, on the 8th day of the bright half of Caitra on Wednesday/25 March A.D. 1360.

Symbols of the sword, the sun, the moon and the goad (*khaḍga*) are mentioned at the beginning of the inscription. Though the goad is a common symbol in the hilly areas, it is rarely found on copper-plates in the plains. The use of this symbol suggests that the grantor had some connection with hill traditions.

The inscription records that Dharam Singh, after dividing his share with Mahārāja Jai Singh, granted Tripāṭhi Srī Saghadita (Saṁghajita) three and a half parts out of five of the main forest

regions and also gifted (through *saṅkalpa*); by ritualistic process the village of Vaḍahardīhā to him. The grant was given with the consent of the *senāpati* or army commander, Śrī Suvāsa, and another person named Ājñāpāla-Phogū. Apparently these two individuals had some rights over the land, so that their consent was necessary. The deed was witnessed by Tripāṭhi Śrī Mādhava Ācārya, and engraved by Pandita Śrī Paduma.

The inscription ends with an imprecation that if any future king tries to take back this grant out of greed for his own benefit, he shall incur a sin equal to that of killing a cow and a Brāhmaṇa.

The territory of Bansi (Basti Dist) was under the rule of the Sārnet Rajputs.[225] The *rājās* of Satasi, Anola and Maghar which were all within this terrirory, belonged to this clan. The Sārnet Rajputs are said to have emigrated from Srinagar probably the Srinagar in Garhwal,[226] and this may well explain the goad-symbol on this copper-plate.

The Sārnets are also said to have been Naikumbh Rajputs, and therefore a branch of the Cauhans. According to tradition, the three sons of Candrasen, the Sārnet ruler of this territory, divided the patrimony among themselves during the fourteenth century. The second son, Jai, settled at Maghar, now in Basti, his possessions extending to a circuit of 42 *kos*.[227] This second son must be the *Mahārāja* Jai Singh this inscription. It appears that *Mahārāja* Jai Singh allotted a part of his share to a kinsman, Dharam Singh, who out of that allotment made the grant which is recorded in this inscription.

The term *dīhā* is the corrupt form of the Persian word *deh*. According to Elliot it is 'used in Benaras Province and lower Doab to signify the site of a deserted village'.[228] Führer records sites in Basti district with archaeological remains, which have names ending in *dīhā*, such as Bakhira-*dīh*, Bhulia*dīh* Paras*dīh*, Garh*dīh*, Morer*dīh* and others.[229] However, no village called Vaḍahardīhā has been traced. The use of the title *rāi* occurs here for the first time

[225] Atkinson, op. cit., VI, p. 672.
[226] Ibid., pp. 353–4, 672.
[227] Ibid., pp. 436, 515.
[228] M. Henry Elliot, ed. John Beams, *Memoirs of the Races* N.W.P. of India, II, p. 283; Wilson's *Glossary*, pp. 141–2.
[229] Führer, *Monumental Antiquities*, pp. 217–27.

in this collection of Sanskrit inscriptions.[230] In Persian texts, it appears much earlier.[231]

The political situation in the trans-Ghagra region (or Gorakhpur) in the 1350s is highlighted by chance references in Persian historical texts. In 1353–4 Fīrūz Tughluq marched through this tract, on his expedition to Bengal, and through Kharonsa during his return. According to Baranī there were two *rāis*, one of Gorakhpur and the other of Kharonsa, who waited upon Fīrūz Tughluq with 'their chiefs or *rānas*'. They had previously paid tribute (*kharāj-guzār*) to Fīrūz Tughluq, as their principalities belonged to the province (*shiqq*) of Awadh. They had, however ceased to do so, until Fīrūz Tughluq brought them back to their allegiance to Delhi.[232] Baranī does not give the names of the two *rāis;* but the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak-shāhī* states that Fīrūz Tughluq was met near Gorakhpur by Udai Singh who, 'offering one lakh *tankas* and two elephants, received royal favours'.[233] Udai Singh was evidently the *rāi* of Gorakhpur. He cannot be identified with any of the rulers of the Satasi family. However, the Jai Singh in this inscription might well have been one of the two *rājās* of Gorakhpur, the other one being Udai Singh.

If Jai Singh, along with Udai Singh, had submitted to Sulṭān Fīrūz Tughluq in 1353–4, the present inscription shows that either the submission was purely formal or that by 1360, the area had lapsed into independence since this inscription makes no reference to that Sulṭān. Moreover, no Persian inscription from that period survives in the area.

The witness to the grant calls himself Tripāṭhi, the literal meaning of which is 'one who is familiar with three *pāṭhas* of the Vedas'.[234] This inscription does contain a very early reference to this common Brāhmaṇa surname. Earlier references to this name are found only in the inscriptions of the Gāhaḍāvāla dynasty.[235]

[230] *Rāi* is derived from Sanskrit word '*Rājan*'. Sircar, *Glossary*, pp. 279–80.

[231] Minhaj-Siraj, *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī*, tr. Raverty, I, pp. 346, 379, 523, 524, 546; II, 743, 762, 763, 777, 824.

[232] Baranī, *Tārīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī* (text), pp. 557–8.

[233] *Tārīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī* (text), pp. 357–8.

[233] *Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhī* (text), pp. 124–5.

[234] Monier William, *Sanskrit English Dictionary*, s.v.

[235] Candravati grant of Rājā Candradeva of Gāhaḍāvāla dynasty (dated Āśvina Vadi 15 v.s. 1150/23 October 1093), records that the king granted the *pattala* of Kathehali to 500 Brāhmaṇs. In the list of donees one of them had the appellation of '*Tripāṭhin*'. *EI*, XIV, pp. 192–209; Roma Niyogi, op.cit., p. 219; R.P. Tripathi, op.cit., p. 357.

Text · Plate XVII.

१. ओं सिद्धिः ॥ विक्रमादूद्ध (र्ध्व) सप्तदशाधिक चतुर्द्दश
शत संवत्सरीय चैत्र शु-

२. कलाष्टम्यां। बुधवारान्वितायां चिल्ह देवी जलदुर्ग्गे राय भूप
नारायणे-

३. त्यादि विविध विरुद्धावली (लि) राजी (जि) विराजमान महानृपति
श्री मद्ध-

४. र्म्मसिंह देवैः। महाराजा श्री जयसिंहदेव (देवेन) सह विभागं
कृत्वा पंच प्र-

५. वर वेनु (वन ?) देस (श) सार्द्धत्रयं दापितवान तञ्च चौहाणा-
देशान्तर्गत

६. वडहरडीहा ग्रामो (मं) सजल स्थल साम्र सप्तधक सि (सी)
मावच्छिन्नं वि-

७. धाय। नृपाटि (त्रिपाठी) श्री सघडित (संघजित) कृते संकल्प
दत्तम। सेनापति श्री सुवा-

८. सा आज्ञापालफोगूह योरूभयानुमतेन ताम्रपट्टं लिखापि-

९. तम्। अंकेपि संवत् १४१७ समयो चैत्र सुदि ८ बुद्धे (धे)
अत्रार्थे साक्षिः

१०. नृपाटि (त्रिपाठी) श्री माधवाचार्यो शोभिन राशी गणिकाः
साक्षिणा.

११. कृता भूताश्च। पंडित श्रीपदुमकेन ताम्रपट्टं लिखितमिदं।
शुभमस्तु।

१. येकेचिच्छन्ति भूपालाः भविष्यन्त्यपरे भुवि नृपेण धर्म्म सिंहेण (न)

२. दत्त (दत्तः) ग्रामो सकैः स्थलैः ॥
पालयंश्च महीपाल नृप दत्तां वसुंधराम्। [Anuṣṭubh]

३. लोभ मोहद्धतायेन स्वस्वात्म सुकृता इव ॥
गोघ्नेऽपि ये पापाः ये पापाः [Anuṣṭubh]

४. द्विजघातने, तान सव्वांस्तु लभन्ते हिये हरन्ति महीभिमाम् ॥
शुभम्। [Anuṣṭubh]

Translation:

1. Oṁ Siddhi. An elevation of Vikrama in the year of Samvat 1417 on the 8th day of bright half of the month,

2–3. Caitra on Wednesday Chillahadevi Jaladurgga has been installed by Śrī Mahārāja Dharma Singh, who bore the illustrious titles of Rāi, Bhūpa and Nārāyaṇa etc.

4–5. After the division of his share with Mahārāja Jai Singh, he granted three and half parts out of five excellent regions of forest (?) in the vicinity.

6. Of Cauhan's territory, there was a village Vaḍaharaḍīhā, endowed with water and with mango groves, of which all the four boundaries are filled by seven kinds of breeze.

7. This land has been gifted to Tripāṭhi Śrī Saghaḍita (Saṅghajita) through a ritualistic process (*saṅkalpa*).

8. This copper-plate has been engraved with the consent of two persons, *Senāpati* Śrī Suvāsa and Ājñāpāla-Phogū.

9. In figures, the date is Samvat 1417 on the 8th day of the bright half of the month Caitra on Wednesday. The witness is. . . .

10. Tripāṭhi Śrī Mādhava Ācārya, the astrologer.

11. This copper plate has been written by Pandita Śrī Padum. May good fortune (prevail).

1–2. Whosoever be the king in the future on this earth, (he) will protect the entire land of this village, granted by Rājā Dharma Singh.

3–4. One who siezes it with greed for his own benefit (he) will (meet) the fate of an offender (who) slaughters a cow and kills a Brāhmana! May auspicious fortune (prevail).

68. Mathura Stone Inscription

Reported by V.S. Agarwala in 'Catalogue of Mathura Museum' in *J.U.P. H.S.*, Lucknow, 1951–2, XXIV–XXV, Q.7, p. 155.

This stone (ht 5′ 6″) with a sunk panel measuring 1″ $11^1/_2$″ high

and wide, was discovered by Pandita Radhakrishna in the village of Maglora (?). The stone depicts a roughly carved male figure walking towards the right, holding a large bow. The lower portion of the panel bears the inscription, which consists of six lines in Sanskrit in Nagari script. The date given is Samvat year 1420, Āśvina Sudi 10, Monday/10 September A.D. 1363.

The inscription states that Maṁgoḍalā[236] was the birth-place of Bhāskara, a Māthur Kāyastha. The Kāyasthas are divided into sub-castes on a geographical basis, according to where they originally lived or the place from where they migrated: thus Śrīvastavas take their name from the old town 'Sravasti (Sahet Mahet), Bhatnāgars from Bhatner, and Gaurs from Gaur, the old kingdom of Bengal. Māthurs derive their name from Mathura and the mention of the 'Māthur Kāyasthas' in the present inscription must be a very early reference to this sub-caste.[237]

Text:[238]

१. संवत् १४२० वर्षे मंगोडला जन्मस्थान-
२. स्थ कायस्थो मथुरांन्व्यु (?) भास्कर पौ-
३. त्र विक्रात पिथौ सिंह सुत-------
४. (।) आश्विन मासे सिते पक्षे दशम
५. सोमवासरे गोमिथेस-------सं (ग)
६. मे अमर सिंहा नाम

Translation:

1. In the year Samvat 1420, Maṁgoḍalā was the birth-place
2. of Māthura Kāyastha Bhaskar's
3. grandson Vikrāta, Pithau Siṁgha's son . . . (?).

4–6. the 10th day of the bright half in the month of Āśvina, on Monday, gomithes (?) . . . the name (is) Amar Singh.

[236] The village Maṁgoḍalā is situated 13 miles from the city in the direction of Bharatpur. Cf. F.S. Growse, *Memoirs of Mathura District*, p. 4.

[237] R.V. Russell and Hiralal, *Tribes and Castes of Central Provinces of India* (Delhi 1975), III, pp. 416–18; see also J.N. Bhattacharya, *Hindu Castes and Sects*, (Calcutta, 1968), pp. 148–33.

[238] Text as read by V.S. Agarwala; the translation is mine.

69. Agra Inscription

Reported in *ARIE*, 1960–1, List No. B 608. Text given for the first time. Impression obtained from the Chief Epigraphist's Office, Mysore.

This inscription was found on a stone, which is built into the *Satī* Burj, at the Tehra Rawat village in Agra Dist. It consists of seven lines written in Sanskrit in Nagari script, and is dated Samvat year 1425, on the fifth day of the waxing moon of the month Śrāvaṇa onMonday/9 July A.D. 1369.

The inscription records that during the reign of the Sulṭān (name unclear), Umā, the daughter of Vasudeva, committed *satī* and the mason Śrī Sirmā set up the pillar. The place called Mālahāmadra-puru cannot be identified.

Text:

औं सिद्धि ॥ संवत् (स्) १४२५ श्री वीर विक्रमादित्याशा —
को (के) १२९० श्री वेदनाम संवत्सरा श्रावण सुदि
५ पंचमी सोमवासरे श्री सुलित्राण ---------
समयात सूत्रधारि
श्री सिरमा सती देव लोक
उमा वासुदेव पुत्री
सुत्त हरि सिरूपति माल्हामद्रपुरू

Translation:

1–2. Oṁ Siddhi; Śrī Vīr Vikramāditya Samvat 1425 and Saka year 1290 on the 5th day of the waxing moon of Śrāvaṇa.

3. On Monday, during the reign of Śrī Sulitrāṇa Sulṭān. . . .

4–6. The mason Śrī Sirmā (erected this *satī* pillar). Umā the daughter of Vasudeva became a *satī*, and abides in heaven.

7. Sutaharī (and) Sirupati (were residents of) Mālahāmadra-puru.

70. Mathura Inscription

Reported by J.Ph. Vogel, *Catalogue of Mathura Museum*, Allahabad, 1910, No. R 21, *JUP H.S.* XXIV–XXV, p. 190. Text not available.

Found on a Brahmanical sculpture in the Mathura Museum, this fragmentary Nagari inscription is dated Samvat year 1428/A.D.

1371–2. The sculpture belongs to a Jain temple. It contains no information of historical importance. I was unable to see the piece at the Mathura Museum, and the text, which so far has remained unpublished, was also not available.

71. Inscriptions in Atala Masjid, Jaunpur

(a) Text Reproduced by Führer, *Sharqi Architecture*, p. 39.

This inscription was found on a stone near the first niche on the south side of the east gate of the Atala Masjid in Jaunpur. It has one line in the local dialect in Nagari script, and is dated Samvat year 1433/A.D. 1376.

Although by tradition, the Atala Masjid is said to have originally been a Hindu temple, all the Nagari inscriptions (nos. 70a, b, c, d, e) discovered there, were engraved after its construction as a mosque by Khwāja Kamāl Khān-i Jahān, which is dated by a Persian stone inscription as A.D. 1363.[239]

It is interesting to note the employment of Hindu masons and their freedom in setting up Nagari inscriptions in the mosque.

Text:[240]

पटमान सूत्रधारा वीसेहव सुतः। संवत् १४३३॥

Translation:

'The mason Patmān was the son of Vīsaihava, Samvat 1433.'

(b) Reported by Führer, *Sharqi Architecture*, p. 40 Text of the inscription not available. Only the date is recorded.

This inscription was found on the third pillar of the fifth lower storey on the north-eastern side of the Atala Masjid in Jaunpur. The date given is Samvat year 1435/A.D. 1378. It is written in the local dialect in Nagari script. The text of the inscription has not been published. I was unable to read the inscription because it was

[239] For the inscription see Führer, *Sharqi Architecture*, pp. 38–9. Führer takes the era in which the year is given (765) as 'Lashkari', and gives the Christian equivalent as A.D. 1376.

[240] I have given my own reading of the inscription which differs from Führer's only in the spelling of the mason's name (Patuman, according to Führer).

covered by a flowering vine at the time of my visit to the Atala Masjid.

(c) Reported by Führer, *Sharqi Architecture*, p. 40.

This inscription is engraved on the right jamb of the northern door outside Atala Masjid at Jaunpur. It has three lines written in Nagari script and is dated Samvat year 1464/A.D. 1407. The name of a mason is mentioned.

Text:

सम्वत (संवत्) १४६४ समये
सूत्रधार पटुमवि
सई सूत्र धार सुत

In the Samvat year 1464 mason Patumavi (was the son of mason Sai).

(d) Reported by Führer, *Sharqi Architecture*, pp. 39–40.

There are two records of the same date found in Atala Masjid at Jaunpur. The first is recorded in two lines in the local dialect in Nagari script on the second square pillar situated in the lower storey of the south-west cloister. Both the inscriptions are dated Samvat year 1464/A.D. 1407.

The inscription uses the Persian word *bunyād* (Nagari, *bunīādī*), which means foundation. Obviously, this portion of the mosque was added in or after A.D. 1407.

Text:[241]

सम्वत् १४६४
वूनी आदी परी

Translation:

In Samvat 1464 the foundation was laid.

The second inscription is engraved in two lines on the third pillar in the upper storey of the south-west cloister.

[241] I have checked the texts of both the inscriptions. Führer misses the significance of the Persian word *bunyād* in the first and renders the inscription as follows: 'In the Samvat year 1464, this building was finished.'

Text:

समये सम्वत् १४६४

Translation:

In the Samvat year 1464.

(e) Reported by Führer, *Sharqi Architecture*, p. 40.

This inscription is engraved on the second pillar in the upper storey of the north-west cloister of the Atala Masjid. It consists of two lines written in Nagari script and is dated Samvat year 1465, on Wednesday the fifth day of the dark fortnight in the month of Caitra/Wednesday 23 March A.D. 1408.

The inscription is a prayer presumably engraved by a Hindu mason. It is an interesting fact that this prayer should have been engraved in a mosque.

Text:

मंगल महाश्री
संवत् १४६५ चैत्र वदि ५ बुधे

Translation:

(May) favourable fortune (and) great felicity (attend). Wednesday the fifth day of the dark fortnight in the month of Caitra in the Samvat year 1465.

72. Lal Darwaza Masjid Inscription, Jaunpur

Reported by Führer, *Sharqi Architecture*, p. 51. In No. XXVII.

This inscription is engraved on the face of the fifth octagonal pillar in the middle row of the north-west cloister of the Lal Darwaza Masjid at Jaunpur. It has two lines written in the local dialect in Nagari script. The inscription belongs to the fourteenth century. It states that Kamau, son of Visadru was an architect. Presumably, Kamau was involved in the construction of the mosque.

Text:

१. विसद्रु सुत (:) कमऊ
२. शिल्पी (।।)

Translation:

Visadru's son, Kamau, the architect.

73. Leva Sati Stone Inscription

Reported in *ARIE*, 1959–60, List No. C 52; *PRASI*, (*NC*), 1915–16, Ins. No. 61. Text of the inscription not published and not available.

This inscription was found in Jhansi district and is written in the local dialect in Nagari script. It is dated v.s. 1462 Āṣādha vadi 11/Sunday 24 May A.D. 1405. The inscription mentions the name of Muḥammad Shāh Tughluq. It is totally damaged and the purpose of the inscription is not clear. However, it is significant that in spite of the invasion of Timur, the writ of the Tughluq ruler of Delhi prevailed in the Jhansi area in A.D. 1405. The Sulṭān referred to must be Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughluq II, who died in A.D. 1412.

74. Rasin Stone Inscription

Reported by Cunningham, *ASR*, XXI, p. 18, pl. No. XIV.

Discovered in the temple of Caṇḍamaheśvarī about one mile to east of Rasin town,[242] this inscription has seven lines written in Sanskrit in Nagari script. It is dated Samvat year 1466, Saturday, the 7th day of the bright half of the month of Caitra/Saturday, 23 March A.D. 1409. The inscription records the fact that Jaipāla Samogha, son of Surpāla, was the servant of *Mahīpati* (King) Paramarddi.

Paramarddi was the name of a Candella king ruling two centuries before the date of the inscription. It is quite possible that there was a second Paramarddi at the time of this inscription in A.D. 1409, although no other reference to him exists.

[242] The old town of Rasin situated on the high road leading from Banda to Kalinjar and just midway between Karwai and Kalinjar. Cunningham, *ASR*, XXI, p. 15.

Text:[243]

सिद्धि। सम्वत
१४६६ वर्षे चैत्र
सुदि ७ सने राजा
दासः श्री राजवासिन्या
परमार्द्दी महीपतेः ॥
तस्य भृत्योस्ती जैपालः
समोघ सुरपाल जः ॥

Translation:

'In the Samvat year 1466 on Saturday the 7th day of the waxing moon of Caitra, the king's slave, in the royal residence of Śrī Parmarddi, lord of the earth, whose servant was Jaipāla Samogha, the son of Surapāla.'

75. Lalitpur Stone Inscription

Reported in *Bhandarkar's List* No. 757. The text was published with a translation by Rajendra Lal Mitra. 'Note on a Sanskrit inscription from Lalitpur district', *JASB*, LII, pt. I, (1883), pp. 67–72. The inscription is now in the Delhi Fort Museum, Delhi.

The Lalitpur Stone Inscription was discovered in the ruins of the old fort of Deogarh, now overgrown with jungle. This inscription consists of thirty-four lines written in Sanskrit in Nagari script with breaks caused by abrasions. It is dated v.s. 1481 and Śālivāhana Śaka 1346, the full moon of the month of Vaiśākha, Thursday/end of April or beinning of May A.D. 1424.

The record opens with a eulogy of Vṛiṣabha (the first Jaina *tirthānkara*), the dweller of a place named Kānta; he is also addressed as Sugata (an epithet usually employed for Gautama Buddha) and Sadāśiva (eternally auspicious). The following lines give the name of different Jain saints such as Śrī Śankara, Takṣaka, Santoṣamāśaśi, Śrīmula, Dharmacandra, Ratankīrittī and Prabhācandradeva. Evidently, these were the high priests who preceded Padmanandi, who is said to have been a great saint of manifold virtues.

[243] I have deciphered the text from the plate given by Cunningham, and checked with his transliteration in English.

The inscription records the consecration of two images of Padmanandi and Damavasanta by Holi and contains some interesting facts about him. It states that Shāh 'Ālaṁbhaka', the ruler of Malwa who belonged to the 'Gauri' (Ghori) dynasty (*kula*), had conquered Mandapapura (Mandu). Shāh Ālaṁbhaka had a wife called Ambikā. They had a son named Holi who is praised for his religious devotion and high moral qualities. This is followed by a record of the dedication which was done by Holi with the assistance of Guṇakirttī, Harapati, Varddhamāna, Nandana, Sunandana and others. Holi is eulogized for his virtues as 'a lord of (the Jaina) congregation.'

The inscription continues with brief details about the scribe, Varddhamāna, who belonged to the Garga *gotra* of the Agrotaka family. After a break, the text goes on to say that Vilhana was the son of Varddhamāna, who is referred to as a 'great poet' and a devout follower of Jainism. The inscription at the end again names 'Sāhi Ālaṁbhaka' of the 'Gauri *kula*' as the reigning sovereign.

The Ghorian dynasty of Malwa was established by Dilāwar Khān who died in A.H. 809 (A.D. 1406–7), and was succeeded by his son Sulṭān Hoshang Shāh Ghori alias Alp Khān. He reigned from A.D. 1406 to 1434.[244] Ālaṁbhaka is certainly a corruption of Alp Khān, as pointed out by Rajendra Lal Mitra; Mandapapura is Mandu, and Gauri *kula*, the Ghorian dynasty. The conquest of Mandu by Hoshang Shāh which is referred to in this inscription, occurred some time after 1408.[245]

This inscription provides important evidence of the tolerance extended by Hoshang Shāh to Jains,[246] but the detailed information in it needs to be closely scrutinized. It is curious that Hoshang Shāh's wife, Ambikā, was a Jain and also that he had by his son, Holi, continued to practise Jainism. The site of the inscription is close to Chanderi, and presumably Holi held that fort on behalf of his father. The long eulogy to him in the inscription leaves one in no doubt of the fact that he held considerable authority. Unfortunately, Persian sources do not tell us who held Chanderi at this time. It is also possible that Holi is the corrupt form of a Muslim name although identifying it with any of Hoshang Shāh's

[244] The date given here, of Dilawar Khan's death and Hoshang Shah's accession is taken from Shahāb Hākim, *Ma'asir-i Mahmud Shāhi*, ed. Nurul Hasan Ansari, Delhi, p. 16; U.N. Day, *Medieval Malwa*, pp. 25, 60 however gives A.D. 1405.

[245] U.N. Day, ibid., pp. 32–5.

[246] Ibid., pp. 63, 423.

eight sons named in the *Ma'asir-i Maḥmuḍ Shāhī*,[247] is extremely difficult.

The inscription refers to a place called Varddhamāna Mahodaya, possibly meaning 'prosperous Kannauj'; Mahodaya is said to be the name of that city. But the significance of this reference remains obscure; it is possible that the poet has some other city in mind.

The use of Varddhamāna (also the name of the scribe) as a place-name in the fourth verse is again puzzling, since no such place is otherwise traceable in Malwa.[248]

Varddhamāna (as a poet) has often used words in a double sense, The epics and Hindu mythology also have this practice; thus well-known proper names such as Rāma (God) also means delight and rejoicing in beauty, and Arjuna has the alternative meaning of white. Varddhamāna has used Bhīma, Sahadeva, Balrāma and Yudhiṣhṭra in similar ways to denote double meanings. This technique is very common in Sanskrit literature; but its frequent and correct use in this inscription, which was written under a Muslim ruler, is a fact of extreme interest.

Text:[249]

१. वृषभ जयत सं श्री मद्वर्द्धमान (जयतु श्री मद्वर्धमान) महोदये।
विपुलं (ल) विलसत्कान्तौ कान्ताख्ये ऽ मृत सागरे।। [Anuṣṭubh]
सुगत सुमतिमन्नैणांङ्का कलकं सकौमुद वितनुते सतां
शान्त्यै शान्तिं श्रियं सुमतिं जय।। + + + + +
भुर्वः श्रोते नश्वरानुदयायते।
तच्चिदुद्यज्जवलज्ज्योतिरार्हतं श्रेयसे श्रेयः।। [Anuṣṭubh]

२. पायादपायात्सदयः सदा न सदाशिवो यद्विशदो हिताप्तौ।
चञ्चच्चिदानन्द विशुद्ध चंद्रद्युतौ चकोंरत्यापि(?) शुद्ध हंसाः।। [Upajāti]
श्रीशंकर श्री रमणाभि रामं (रामल) + + + सल्लक्ष्मणमर्हणार्हम्।
जिनेन्द्र नन्दं धनदं सुमित्रमजातशत्रुं विभजे चकोरम्।। [Upajāti]
स्ववाममायामयमप्यमायं वामंलसल्लक्ष्मणमर्हणार्हं।

[247]Shahāb Hākim, *Ma'asir-i Maḥmud Shāhī*, p. 19. Four namely Dāud Khān, Usmān Khān, Fatḥ Khān and Haibat Khān were born of a daughter of a Muslim Commandant of Thatner; four others, Ghāznī Khān, Aḥmad Khān, 'Umar Khān and Ayyūb Khān, were from a concubine. None of these names approximate to Holi, and no association with Chanderi is suggested with respect to any of the sons.

[248] For other references to a town called Varddhamāna, see Nundolal Dey, op.cit., p. 25 s.v. Barddhamana.

[249] Exactly as published by Rajendra Lal Mitra. I did not have access to either the original inscription or its impression.

[Upajāti]

३. सीतेश सुग्रीवमहार्हणार्हं वन्दे सहर्षं सहसैकशीर्षम् ।।
सशल्य दुःशासन नाश हेतुमजातशत्रुं सहदेव वर्यम्
[Upajāti]
वन्दे विशालार्जुन सद्म++नन्दत्सतां कर्णकुलं मृगांकम् ।।
वामयेधाष्टकं (?) स्वेन कर्म्माधाक्षीद यरक्षरं (?)
[Anuṣṭubh]
साधोर्द्धार्द्धं दुरेखं तम्हंलीये विलयश्रियं ।।

४. विगर्ज्जान्नाजाङ्कमजितं तक्षकंनुमः ।
दुर्घटं सुघट (न्वर्धमान) द्वर्द्धमान जैन महोत्सवं ।। [Anuṣṭubh]
वदनपर गिरीशो ..... चित्रिदशन ..... वेत्रवत्याकर्लर्यत ?
प्रभवतु समृगाङ्कोप्यस्त (ऽप्यस्त) दोषोऽकलंकः ।
कुवलये सुख हेतुर्नः श्रिये शान्ति सोमः ।। [Mālinī]

५. योदी (योऽदी) दहच्च तिलकेक्षण वह्निनेह, कामं असीमरदरं जनकं तदीयं ।
शक्तयान्वितस्त्रि नयनोऽप्यपवाम वामः शान्तिश्वरस्त्रिजगतां स शिवाय ।।
[Vasantatilakā]
पदपद्म युग्म ..... छद्म उपास्महे
तदंहमुदायद मर्त्य मर्त्य भुजंगम्नभ्रमौलिकुलास्मजित् ।
विदलत्तमाल समुल्लसत्सनुखेन्दु मण्डल मण्डली
विगलां शुभिभर्व श्री—मुषः शशिनोऽ र्हतो भवसंभवे ।।

६. क्षीरकर्पूरनीहार हार हीर हरावरां कुन्देन्दुकुमु ..... ।
क्षीरसमुद्र सान्द्र विलसत्कल्लोमालोज्जवलां
श्री सर्वज्ञविसुधांशु मण्डलमिलत्स्वर्लोक कल्लोलिनीम् ।
विद्रावन्निज भक्त चतेसि समुन्मीलत्तमोपद्रवां

७. वन्दे जाड्यभिजे मुदे च भगवदवाणी श्च (भगवद्वाणी) च सत्सम्पदे ।।
[Śārdūlavikṛīḍita]
श्री मूललक्ष्मणां नृपनन्दि संघे, गच्छे पतुच्छेमदसारदाख्ये
क्षणे बलात्कार गणे गरिष्ठे श्री कुं ..... जिनेन्द्रचन्द्रागम-
दुर्ग्ग मार्ग्गोयस्योडुपंत्यत्र सतां हिवाचः ।
अद्याप्युदच्चद्यशसमाजस्त्र बन्धाश्च स धर्म्मचन्द्रः ।।

८. यस्याशा गज कर्ण कैखवननन्दैक सत्कौमुदी, कीर्त्तिनार्गनरामरेन्द्र भुवने जेगीयतेऽह-
र्निशम् ।
धर्मेन्दुः सकलः कलंक विकलः स स्याच्छुधांशुः श्रिये ।
श्री मूलं ..... विलसल्ल ..... दये ।। [Śārdūlavikrīḍita]
धर्म्मचन्द्र मुनीन्द्रस्य पट्टोत्कृष्टोदयी चले ।
यस्योदयोऽ भनस्यः तमस्तोमापनोदिनः ।। [Anuṣṭubh]
रत्नकीर्त्तेल सन्मूर्तेस्तिग्मांशोः कमंलोदये

९. सतामप्यत्पङ्कानां तपसां स्युर्यशोंऽशवः ।।१५।। [Anuṣṭubh]
अद्याप्युच्चैर्जजृम्भे चरण चयचितस्तम्भदम्भाद्यदीयाज्योत्स्नेवानुष्णुरश्मेः
क्षरदमृतमयी ..... ।
सस्या ..... समिनां पुण्यपुण्योपदेष्टा सृष्टा सप्तप्रतिष्ठासु
च जिन शशिनो रत्न कीर्त्ति प्रशस्त्यै ।। [Sragdharā]
रत्नकीर्त्ति पदाम्भोज कमलालङ्कृतासने
येनोद्यद्वाग्विलासेन भारती भूषणायितम् ।। [Anuṣṭubh]

१०. गर्ज्जद्दु * र्वादिवृन्दाम्बुददलनविधौ यो ऽ भवत्तीव्रवातस्त्वे
कान्तध्वान्तभानुः कुवलय सुख कृद्यस्त्वनेकान्त
..... द्रान्ताङ्कोकलंक ..... सकलकलः शङ्करो
++वृत्तःस्याद्ध्यै मूलं संङ्घामलकमलनिधौ श्री प्रभाचन्द्र देवः ।। [Sragdharā]
पदेततोनमद शेष महीश भाललग्नानियत् क्रमरजस्तिलकान्यभूवन ।

११. कल्याणकारि कमला कुचकेलिदानि पापपहानि समभूदिह पद्मनन्दी ।।
[Vasantatilakā]
कःसरीसर्ति साम्यत्वं, सन्निधावञ्ज नन्दिनः ।
न ..... न सम्ममे यस्य स ..... । [Anuṣṭubh]
के के पुराण सारीण्यं शिष्यानाकर्ण्य कर्णयोः ।
श्री पद्मनन्दिनः प्रापुः सस्मितां धर्मदेशनाम् ।। [Anuṣṭubh]

१२. प्रेम्ना कज्जलितं विशच्छलभितं चेतोभुवावर्तितं
रागाद्यैः स्मयंदूषितैः परमतैर्भ्रस्यत्तम स्तोमितम् ।
भावैः प्रस्फुटितं नयैर्विरचितं धर्म्मैः समुद्योतितं
सम्प्राप्ताम्बुज नन्दिदीपतपसि प्रागजैन धर्म्मालये ।। [Śārdūlavikṛīḍita]
सै ..... क चलति सद्वंसत्यनुष्ण द्युतिः
क्षीराम्भोध्यति चन्द्रमत्यहरहः स्पर्द्धन्ति हन्तो अति
श्री मानम्बुज नन्दिनस्त्रि भुवने जेगीयमाना नयै .....

१३. वाद्यत्सद्यशसा न केन सुनटी कीर्त्ति र्नरीतर्त्त्य हो ।। [Śārdūlavikṛīḍita]
ज्ञानार्णवः समयसार गभीर शब्द सल्लक्षणः प्रणवलीनलयः प्रमाणः ।
सि ..... भुवनोप कृत्यै ..... ।। [Vasantatilaka]
इन्द्रोपेन्द्रफणीन्द्र गीष्पतिमतिं यः कोऽपि धत्ते पुमान्
मन्ये पङ्कज नन्दिनोः गुणगुणान वक्तुं न सो(ऽ)पी शते ।
संसारणवितीर्णयामलधिया सान्नौकया सन्मुने-

१४. र्निष्कल्लोलचिदम्बुधावचलया पद्मायितं लीलया ।। [Śārdūlavikrīḍita]
श्री पद्मनन्दिसगुरोः पद पद्मप .....
धर्म्मोपलक्षितदिशा .....
मारमनोभिरम्यः प्रोद्भेद्य कौमुदमरं शुभचन्द्रदेवः ।।
अथ संवत्सरेस्मिन् नृपविक्रमादित्ये गताब्द १४८१ शाके

१५. श्री शालिवाहानाम १३४६ वैशाखमासे शुक्लपक्षीय
पूर्णमास्यां गुरुवासेर । स्वाति नक्षत्रे । सिंहलग्नोदय ।।
अति विक्रमा + + र्य्येब्दे चन्द्राद्रयाब्धीन्दु .....
वैशाखे पुर्णराकायां ..... मृगयोदये ।।
..... साकृष्ट कृपाणपाणि विलसत्तीव्र प्रतापानल
ज्वालाजाल समा कुलीकृत गजाधीशाद्यरीशैरणपे ।

१६. श्रीमान्मालव पालके शक नृपे गोरी कुलोद्योतके
निःक्रान्ते विजयाय मण्डप पुराच्छ्री साहि आलम्भके ।।
..... सुमण्ड मण्डमाना खण्डवाल कुली मण्डपी + + न्ये ।
संनिर्म्ममे शिव शिरोमणिवन्मनोज्ञ, सिद्धोधिन सुविधिना सुविधिः सुबोधः ।।

१७. सोऽभूत्तस्मिन त्रिभुवन पालो भुवनेलसद्यशः कलशः । [Vasantatilakā]
योऽलं त्रिभुवन लक्ष्मणालेभे गण गुणां गणा + रणं ।। [Upajāti]
निर्दम्भ स्तम्भ गर्जद्गज सकल कला + + लाङ्का
कलंक ..... विपुल यशसो यस्य चित्रं पवित्रं ।
तस्य श्री पुण्य लक्ष्मणाखिल गुण निलयोधीर धीरो गभीरः
पुत्रो गोत्र भप+पम महिम निधि धीर्रधीः साधु साधुः ।।

१८. + + लबाल कीर्त्तिलता वितान धारावरः सुसमयोप्यतमस्ककल्पः ।
सन्तापहारि .....कायर्य्यभव ..... वनिवि देवः ।।
विद्युल्लतेव विमला ..... पतिव्रतांङ्का सौभाग्य
भूधर सुता नररत्नगर्भा तस्याम्बिका च वनिंता जनताम्बिकव ।।
अभूदसमसौम्योपि तयो र्वागर्थ योरिव ।
होली सुन्दनः श्रीमान रसोत्साहाभिनन्दनः ।। [Anuṣṭubh]

१९. वर्द्धमानार्थि नामर्थे वर्द्धमानान्–मनोरथान सार्थयनर्थतः
श्रीमान होली कल्पाङ्घ्रिपायाते ।। [Anuṣṭubh]
सन्मूलः सदलोल्लसत् ..... प्रशाखोच्छ्रखः
श्लाघ्य स्वच्छ कुलैः फलैर विकलः सुच्छायकायश्रियः ।
सन्तापेऽपिक्षपाकरः कुवलये श्री होली कल्पाङ्घ्रिपोजीयात्तर्ज्जित
दुर्ज्जनोऽर्जनयशोवसोऽर्कचन्द्रार्थिभिः (?) ।। [Śārdūlavikrīḍita]

२०. अविकल्प कल्पलतया सुकान्त्या कान्तया कान्तः।
असकृत सुकृत समुन्नत धारा धर निर्भरा सारैः॥
यः कान्ता++लत .....
कमलाख्य या धनाख्य धनदं सुधनञ्जयं साधुः॥
वधूधन श्री फलमालयालं गल्हेवंशानुजनन्दनैश्च

२१. सुवर्णरूक्माहिरमागरैभिः सरत्न भूगजर ठककुराग्यैः॥
गाम्भीर्य्य जलदासये विचलतां देवाचलो मार्द्दव। नृत्यत्कार्त्तिक केकिकाय
विगलत्प + + तं + दयं .....
सदाश्रिततया संर्व्व सहत्वंधरायस्मादेवमिताददुः
सजयातात् श्री होली सघांधिपः॥
विस्मयन्ते धरित्राणि ..... होली साधुना।

२२. यद्यशोऽक्त्क्लृप्त दुग्धाब्धौ वृषः कौमुदमेधते॥ [Anuṣṭubh]
यद्यशो विष्णुनाप्युच्चैः कलावप्यकलंकिना।
+ + सभेष शेषत्व विश्वविश्वमुपाददे॥ [Anuṣṭubh]
+ दैव + ति सुजन वाञ्छ ..... णां।
अनु भवति वचांसि गुरू र्विश्वं विस्मयति होली कृति॥
गुण वानपि धर्म्मात्मा वक्रः सर्द्धभ्र्भजोपियः
यद+सोमदो होली ऋजुपन्थाप्या लोभ भाक्॥ [Anuṣṭubh]

२३. रोद सांवर सच्छुक्त्ला सं पुराद्यद् यशोलसत्
मुक्ता मुक्तयंगना मुक्तहारं होल्या रसोर्हतात्॥
सत् केत्तकी कु ..... काशसं कास .....
यश सत्मयी कृताशः।
सोल्लाससारसनिवासमया महान्तो होली—
श्वरोऽस्तु सधनञजय सार्थवाहः॥
नाकोसित्वमहं वृषस्तनुतनु किं पुत्र पित्रोः

२४. शुचासानन्दं वदसद्यकिं मृगयसे भूयोवतरस्तयोः
त ++ क्र कलौवदाशु नृकवे (?) कि
वर्द्धमान ऽ क्षये ..... मद्रुपो ..... होली सं++रे॥
श्री होली कमलाकरे कुवलयं सत्कीर्त्तिकञ्जायते
शेषे नालसि सद्दलीयति गजैर्दिक्षुंप्रकाशीयति।

२५. मेरौ चित्रम् जात्र चित्रमपितिन्मत्रास्तचिन्तापभृद्।
यन्नालीयति सन्मरालति कलंकी यत्रं दोषाकरं॥ [Śārdūlavikṛīḍita]
चन्द्रोनिहसिता+ति प्रविकशद्र ..... जम्बालति।
सद्दीपत्यखिलाचलाचलविभुभं++नन्तमित्युद्यद्धोलियशोम्बुधौ सम .....
धम्मकनौकेत्यहो।

२६. तत्राप्येत्रैको हेतुस्तद् यथा तथाहि ।।
विविक्तः शक्तिमान्ः होली विविद्यश्चोक्ति मानहं ।
इत्यावयोर्महान् स्नेह सततं ववृधे बुधाः ।। [Anuṣṭubh]
येनाकारि मनोहारि ..... पुरन्दर ..... श्रीलजिनालयं ।।
सतां सन्तोष पोषाय श्रेयसेचात्मनः श्रिये ।

२७. सुखाय विमुखाक्षाणां चेह स्नेहाय पश्यतां ।। [Anuṣṭubh]
खण्डे भू—त—शोत्तं सोभूत साधु देहाख्यः ।
वेदश्रिया सलेभे सु सुतं श्री वल्लदेवाख्यं ।। [Anuṣṭubh]
सवल्लण श्री रमणोपि सूनुं विलक्षणं लक्षणलक्षिताङ्ग ।
लेभे नृपं लक्षणपालदेवं देवा .....
..... श्रिया श्रीमतक्षेमराजभिधांगजं ।
धर्मार्थ काम सं सिद्धि साधकं भाग्यतोऽलभत् ।। [Anuṣṭubh]
द्वितीयम द्वितीययोद्यत्प्रतापातापित द्विषम् ।

२८. ++ भार धुराधूर्य्य वर्य्यमाधुर्य सागरम् ।। [Anuṣṭubh]
नाम्नादेवरतिं सदोदय मतं सन्मत्तर्यलक्ष्मीपतिं
धर्म्म ध्यान गतिं निररस्त कुमतिं योनित्यमेवाददे ।
यश्चक्रे जिन+र्च्चनेऽचलरति स .....
..... साधु जनेवि ..... ।। [Śārdūlavikrīḍita]
श्रेष्ठः पद्मश्रिया श्रेष्ठं स्ववंशाम्भोज भास्करम्
सनु नयन सिंघाख्यलेभेरत्यामरावरं ।। [Anuṣṭubh]

२९. नृरत्नं रत्ननामानमयात्लाभ्यस्त पादवं (?)
सुत माप्य संमस्तास्त कुमितं सदिवं ययौ ।। [Anuṣṭubh]
अलभन्मल्हणदेगनयारम्भायाङ्गजं चाथ ।
बालकलेशमिवालं कलया कलया ..... ।। [Anuṣṭubh]
पतिसंघनाथो ..... दिल्हणदेव्याभि नन्दित नन्दनः ।
अथ पद्मसिंह नन्दन मुख्ययैरिप नन्दताद्निशं ।।

३०. प्रतिष्ठायाति गारिष्ठां यन्नामा देवदेहिनां ।।
तस्याञ्जनन्दिनो मूर्त्तः कः प्रतिष्ठा घटामटेत् ।। [Anuṣṭubh]
शुभ सोमाज्ञया सोसौ तथापि गुण कीर्त्तिना ।
वर्द्धमानाभिधैः श्रीमद्वरपत्यादिभिर्बुधै ।। [Anuṣṭubh]
श्रीपद्मनन्दि ..... दमवसन्त
महात्मने मूर्त्तोयर्व्विधा विधिनाभि मतां
प्रतिष्ठामेतांहिनन्दन सन्दन नन्दानाद्यैः ।। [Śloka]
संघेश्वरः कुवलयेऽमल होलिचन्द्रः

३१. संघेश देवपति वाक् पतिनेन्द्रमुद्रः ।।
सन्मगंलैः सकल बन्धु जनौ +
वृन्दैर्वर्षत् सहर्षमुपकार सुधाश्रुधारां ।। [Vasantatilaka]
परोपकार कर्त्ता यो यद्यशां .....
.....
श्रीमान सतत् धर्म्मात्म वृष्टिं योदान बारिणा ।
धत्ते स सत्य धर्म्मेशी जीयाद्होली नरोतमः ।। [Anuṣṭubh]
मोद्त् कुवलयं यस्य यशस्तिलकमुत्तमं ।

३२. दिदीपे उपमंसोमः स जीयद्होलि शंकरः ।। [Anuṣṭubh]
प्रातः कालीयश (रा) गदलदखिलत् मोंर (मोरे) र्गुरपादपद्महृत्
पद्मोल्लासिलक्ष्मण (म्या) स्तरुण .....
..... चञ्चच्चान्द्रीयश्चा कलंक सकल कुवलये सधुंता होलि साधोः ।।
अग्रोतकान्व्ये गर्ग गोत्रे हाट बुधागंजाः वभूवुः

३३. साधवः क्षीमाहरुगंगामराभिधाः ।। [Anuṣṭubh]
तेषामाद्यत्मजस्तत्र वील्हो भूत्पल्हिकाद्गज-
हरूरत्नश्रियोः सूनुस्ततो भूत्तल्हणः सुट्टक् ।। [Anuṣṭubh]
.....
..... गनयाततः ।।
समजनि वसन्तकीर्त्त्यार्य्यो वील्हणवर्द्धमान जन्मा
मृगयन् माता जयित श्री क्षाल्हीचार्य्या करो हिमा सबुधः

३४. प्रशस्तिमुद्यद् वृषभार्हचन्द्र सान्द्रार्थ तीर्थो +'+ धा चकोरः
सत्तां मुदेसत् कवि वर्द्धमानो जिन समाराध्यविवर्द्धमांनं ।।
श्री वर्द्धमान विवुधानन पद्म चंञ्चत् पीयू ..... धारां पीत्वा द्रुतां
श्रुति युगांञ्जलिभिस्त्व मीमांसुतानन्दस्तु संसुमनसः शुचिचंचरीका, शुभम अस्तु
सतां सदा ।।
..... सुतश्चिरं जीयात् रिपु नृप सिन्धु
सवा ..... विभू ..... पस्माहि आलम्भ ।।
श्रीसाह्यलम्भधिपतनुजोरिभूप मौलिमणिके
गर्ज्जति गर्जन स्थाने ग++ गोरी कुल कुवलयेस्मिन्

Translation:[250]

1. May you be victorious, O Vrisabha, in Varddhamāna Mahoɑaya (prosperous Kannauj)[251] in the ocean of nectar called Kānta (or beautiful) where bountiful splendour shines forth. O thou great-minded Sugata, thou spotless moon bright with light, for the welfare of the good, thou spreadest victory, right thinking, prosperity and peace . . . . . I take refuge under the Arhatine lustre, resplendent and glorious, for the non-appearance of what is mortal in me in this stream of transmigration. May the pure and compassionate Sadāśiva protect us always from calamities and for the sake of attainment of welfare.

2. Even the pure swans, like a Cakora in the clear moonlight of Cidānanda (eternal gladness of the soul). I worship Jinnendra who produces welfare and is charming like Viṣṇu, beautiful, endowed with all auspicious signs, Dhanada (who gives wealth) and with good friends and who has no enemy and who is like a Cakora god. I salute with delight the one-headed lord, worthy of receiving great honours from the lord of cultivated land—with a beautiful neck, well deserving of worship, furnished with signs, the Amāyā (without illusion) though with Māyā or illusion on his left side (as his wife).

3. Among the chief gods, I adore Candra, to whom no enemy was born, the cause of the destruction of the ungovernable with thorns (in their hands), the abode of great whiteness, the one who delights of the ears of the good, whose symbol is the stag. For the prosperity of Nirvāṇa I merge in the essence of him who by his power burnt the eight works which destroy the future world and which pervade the regions above, below and from all sides. I bow to Takṣaka, the unconquered, whose symbol is the hissing lord of serpents.

4. One who brings the Jain festival (at) Varddhamāna though it is so very difficult, with the lord of the mountains on his

[250] I have adopted Rajendra Lal Mitra's translation but with considerable modifications after a close checking of the text.

[251] According to Cunningham Kānyakubja was also called Gādhipura, Mahodaya, and Kuśasthala, (*Ancient Geography of India*, p. 707; cf. R.S. Tripathi, *History of Kannauj*, pp. 2–4).

face . . . with variegated teeth . . . because of Vetrāvatī and Kālī? May Śāntisoma render constant the cause of happiness of the whole world; though a moon, he is without faults and without blemishes. May he prevail for our prosperity. He, who consumed Kāma by the fire of the eye on his forehead, who killed Kāma's father, who is without any female on his left . . . .

5. Śāntisoma . . . . . for the prosperity of the three worlds. When there is a possibility of transmigration, I worship with delight on the pretext . . . . . the heir to the lotus feet . . . because the conquerers of the precious stones from the lowly heads of the mortals, of immortals and of the serpents of the Arhatśaśi, the destroyer of Śiva's beauty through the rays, issuing from the orb of nails, shining moon—as if it were from the midst of a beautiful *tamāla* tree.

6. I adore, for breaking the chain of transmigration, for delight and for prosperity, the speech of the lord who dispels the evils of the darkness from the melting hearts of his worshippers. I adore also the celestial river falling on the disc of Śrī Sarvajña, the moon; both these are white like milk, camphor dew, necklace, ... diamonds and Mahādeva, and are bright with the shining and thick ripples of the milky sea scattered over with the moon, the Kunda flower and the Kumuda flower.

7. In the great ceremony, named Madaśārda, the King Śrī Lakṣamaṇa, in the Nandi Saṁgha of Balātakāra Gaṇa . . . . Dharamcandra is the sole person whose words are thē only means of access to the inaccessible moon like Jinendra named Śrīkuna (?) and whose rising fame is still flowing continuously.

8. He, whose fame, is like the moonlight which delights the water-lilies shaped like the ears of the elephants goading, . . . the directions—is being sung daily in the worlds of serpents, of mortals and immortals—may Dharamcandra obtain a spotless full moon in the rise . . . shining Śrī Mula (Saṁgha) . . . . . obtain the prosperity of the moon. On the Udyācala, which is sanctified by the pontificate of Dharamcandra Muni, dispeller of darkness, there arose . . . Ratanakīrttī.

9. May the rays of the fame of the brilliant sun like Ratankīrttī prevail for the blooming of lotus-like pure and untarnished asceticism. He, whose . . . . . like the nectar-dripping light of the moon on account of issuing from his feet . . . . prevails over all. May Ratankīrttī, the teacher of the holy in the seven holy places . . . for the glory of the moon like Jina. He, who made the goddess of speech an ornament to himself by the elegance and flow of his language on the seat, adorned by the lotus-like feet of Ratankīrttī.

10. He who was like a strong wind in scattering a way, thundering clouds in the shape of roaring opponents; he who is like the sun in dispelling darkness and spreading happiness over the world; he who is like the full moon without a stain, the giver of happiness — may that Śrī Prabhācandradeva prevail for the sake of the prosperity of the original congregation or Mulasaṁgha.

11. He was followed by Padmanandi, the sin dispelling the dust of whose feet adorned the breasts of their females, and was carried away on the crowds of kings who bowed to him and used it as their frontal mark. In the presence of Padmanandi who could claim a rivalry ----- measures him who --- who were they! Alas! who were the fortunate men that after hearing sages speak in accordance with the Purāṇas, were blessed with the religious teaching from Padmanandi's smiling face? In the house of Jain religion, in the lamp of penance of Padmanandi, human love became like collyrium, god cupid (Kāma) became a moth, flying into the flame;

12. passions were put to shame, adverse opinions were dispelled like darkness, sentiments had their full play; moral principles were established and religion (*dharma*) flourished. The soothing brillance of . . . . becomes pure white, flaming like the milky ocean, like the moon. Those that had not before chanted frequently the fame of Padmanandi in the three worlds, now vie with each other to do so.

13. His fame, the good actress, dances well in unison with any tune of renown. He is like an ocean of knowledge. His august voice was the most substantial thing of his time. He was an authority. He melted in Praṇava ----- for the benefits

of the world. I think a man who possesses the intelligence of Indra, of Upendra, of the serpent king, and also of Vrihaspati; even he will not be able to name the numerous good qualities of Padmanandi.

14-16. The pure intelligence of the noble sage, entering the ocean of the world, fixed itself in the calm ocean of intelligence; intelligence which may be compared to a boat, which plays the part of a lotus merrily. The lotus feet of Padmanandi . . . . with eyes fixed on religion . . . delightful to the mind of . . . the blooming Kumuda flower is Śubhacandradeva. In the year of king Vikramāditya one thousand four hundred and eighty-one, 1481 expired, that of Śālivāhana Śaka one thousand three hundred and forty-six, 1346, on the full moon of the month of Vaiśākha, on Thursday, the asterism being Svāti in conjunction with Siṁha; the same given in figures The King Sāhi Ālaṁbhaka, the illuminator of the race of Gauri, the lord of Malwa, when he marched forth for the sake of victory from Maṇḍappura, holding a drawn sword in his hand and harassing the lords of the elephants with flames of the fire of his valour. The intelligent and methodical king built according to rules . . . . . delightful as the crown jewel of Śiva . . . . . for the great Bodhi. There was such a lord of the three worlds on earth with a shining vessel of fame.

17-18. He who obtained all the qualities to make the three worlds happy . . . . . .He, who had a pure picture or delineation of his widespread fame . . . . . spotless moon . . . . . with the sounds of elephants trumpeting with pride . . . . . The lord . . . . the mitigator of suffering . . . . without pride even in good times . . . . . like clouds watering the creepers of the fame . . . . . He had a wife named Ambika, pure like the streak of lightning . . . .devoted to her husband, fortunate like the daughter of the mountain, the mother of jewels amongst men. She was like the mother of the people. They had a son named Holi, delighter, a lover of poetry and enterprise and possessing matchless beauty. His parents were, like the word and its meaning, intimately associated with each other.

19. Holi, by fulfilling the growing desires of the beggars of Varddhamāna became, as it were the all-granting tree of

desire. Victory be to Holi, the all-granting tree of desire, whose roots are firm, whose leaves are beautiful, whose branches tall, which is full of fruits, pure and delicious, shady and lovely in appearence. He is refreshing like the moon, even in the heat, the punisher of bad men.

20. A better abode of lustrous fame than the sun and moon. By means of continuous showering of the high and well formed clouds, did he often delight his beautiful wife, a creeper on a princely bed. He who . . . . his wife . . . . good himself, the conqueror and giver of wealth named Dhanada, the name of Kamalā. No need of bel fruit, the wealth of females (their busts); no need of younger sons of the family of Galheśa; no need of gold, diamond and agallochum; no need of earth with jewels and also of gojara (?) and *ṭhakkura* . . . . . .

21-22. May the lord of the congregation, may the lord Holi, conquer . . . . because . . . . they gave . . . . being a protege; the earth her quality of sustaining everything. The worlds are wonder-struck by the good Holi, whose fame increases the moon-light in the boundless milky ocean, like Viṣṇu, whose universal fame in the Kālī age is by the spotless Viṣṇu . . . . he dwindling down into the moon . . . . The successful Holi, the teacher feels the weight of speeches and makes the world wonder-struck. He is an accomplished, virtuous, straightforward lover of good religion.

23. His ways are straight and he has no greed or ambition. The fame, which issues forth from the white palace of the sky, is used by females leaving pearl ornaments. With his fame like the Ketakī flower and the Kāśa flower . . . who has filled all directions with himself, the lord Holi should be; may he united with Dhanañjaya (one who wins wealth) and Sārthvaha (caravan leader) . . . . . pervaded all the quarters . . . . . the fame which is . . . . as it were with cranes, full of hilarity. You are, O my son, heaven itself, and I am Vṛṣa . . . . . very week.

24. Tell me, why do you lament over parents? Why do you search for them? Do you long for them to spring to life again? Where is Kali (?), tell me quickly, O, human poet . . . . in the indestructible Varddhamāna . . . like me . . . Holi. In

the lotus tank of Holi, the earth becomes the lotus endowed with good fame; the Śeṣa (serpent) becomes the leaf of the lotus; elephants become radiant in all directions . . . Sun, who is more worried about setting, becomes the stalk; the spotted moon becomes a swan.

25. The sun without a worry of setting . . . . . became the stalk of lotus . . . . . ? The moon being laughed at . . . . . blossoming . . . . . becomes . . . . . when the fame of Holi spreads like the ocean all over the world. It appears like an all-pervading mountain, and becomes like a boat of religion. There is one reason for this and that is as it should be.

26. It is a fact that Holi is powerful; it is also a fact that I am to be made known as one strong in the power of speech. It is, therefore, O sages, that our affection grew . . . . . He who made the delightful . . . . . Indra . . . . . the temple of Jina. To increase the contentment of the good people, for his own, and for the welfare and wealth, as well for the delight of these, that have conquered their passions, as well those that are mere spectators.

27. In the quarter — there was one named Sādhudeva. He had a son named Valladeva by Vedaśrī. Viṣṇu, like Vallana, obtained a son Lakṣhmaṇapāladeva, who, as the wise are was furnished with all signs of greatness. He obtained by his . . . good fortune, Deva . . . . .Śrī . . . . . a son called Kshemarāja, who was religious, meritorious and desirous. He was the second, but second to none in harassing his enemies, by his rising power . . . . . .

28. . . . . He was an ocean of sweetness and foremost bearing the burden of state . . . . . called Devarati . . . . . one who is like Viṣṇu among human beings, refuge of religious contemplations and one who has destroyed evil thoughts. It is he who devoted himself to Jina . . . . . in a virtous man. He obtained by Padmaśrī, a son named Nayansingha, the sun of the lotus of his race. He was inferior only to God.

29. After begetting a son Ratna, who is a gem among men and who obtained skill without any efforts and who has destroyed all evil thoughts . . . . . He obtained by Malhaṇa-

dega (?), a son named Rambhāmaya. He was like a young moon, by means of his knowledge of the fine arts . . . . Chief of the congregation . . . . . the son beloved to Dilhaṇa-devi. May the chief descendents of Padmasiṁhạ be in prosperity.

30. Who can perform the ceremony of consecrating the state of Padmanandi? His name alone is sufficient, the consecration is a great thing. Still he, by the command of Subhāsoma, through the aid of Guṇakiriti, of the sages Harapati and others and of Varddhamāna, and also of Nandana, Sunandana and others, consecrated according to rules, the statue of Padmanandi and . . . . Daṁavasanta, the two great souls. Holi in this world is the lord of congregation.

31. He was the real bearer of the lord of the congregation, of the lord of gods and also of the lord of speech. He is followed by all his friends . . . by means of all the auspicious ceremonies, he cheerfully helps all. He pours the showers of nectar. May Holi the greatest of men, be victorious! He is the lord of truth and virtue. By the water he has to pour for consecrating his gifts. Holi everyday sends a heavy shower. He is always full of religion. He is always prosperous. He is always munificent. His fame —— May Holi, the giver of prosperity, be victorous! The glad earth is the frontal mark of his fame.

32. He shines like a rival of the moon. The goodness of wise Holi all over the world ——, the tremulous light of the spotless moon — the young — of the — of beauty — of the lotus heart at lotus feet of the spiritual guide, the enemy of eternal darkness which is being dispelled by the morning beams(?) In the family of Agrotaka in the Garga *gotra* were born the wise son of Haṭabudha . . .

33. named Kśhuṇa Haragaṅga and Amara. The son of the first was Vilhaṇa, whose mother was Palihikā, Harūn has by Ratanśrī a son named Talḥaṇa with beautiful eyes. The . . . the venerable Vilhaṇa was born of Varddhamāna by Vasanta-kīrtti . . . . . .

34. The good poet Varddhamāna, the Cakora, after worshipping Jina the ascendent, for the delight of the good . . . . . this eulogy . . . May well-meaning, men delight in drinking

with their ears the nectar-like . . . words issuing from the mouth of Varddhamāna . . . May the good be prosperous May the son live long! . . . . Sāhī Alaṁbhaka . . . . The son of Sāhi Ālaṁbhaka, the crown jewel of hostile kings, roaring at its proper place . . . Gauri *kula* in this world . . . . . .

76. Dihuli Inscription

Reported in *BL* No. 766, Noticed by Longhurst in *PRASI*, (*NC*), 1908–9, p. 22, No. 12.

This inscription was found on a stone slab in Dihuli village, in Mainpuri district. It consists of six lines written in Sanskrit in Nagari script, the date given is V.S. 1486/A.D. 1426. Neither the text nor any translation has been only the name, Virsiṁhadeva, is said to be recorded in the inscription.

77. Deogarh Fort Inscription

Noticed by Kielhorn *EI*, V, appendix, p. 41, No. 287; Reported in *BL*, No. 773; *PRASI*, (*NC*), 1918-19, No. 55; *ARIE*, 1969–70, List No. C 2989. A few lines of the text are given by Pandit Nathu Ramji Premi, in *Anekānta*, pt. 7 (1940), pp. 444–5. It is said to be preserved in a Jain Dharmaśālā.

The text published here has been obtained by courtesy of Mr Bhanu Chandra Jain of the Ratlam Degree College, Ratlam.

This inscription is engraved on a slab of stone which was originally on the pedestal of a standing image of Ajitnāth in temple no. 12 of the Deogarh fort. This slab is now built into a modern rubble wall in the portico of the temple. There are thirteen lines written in Sanskrit in Nagari script and the dated is V.S. 1493, Śaka 1358, on the fifth day of the dark half of the month Vaiśākha, on Thursday in Mula-Nakṣatra/5 April A.D. 1436.

The inscription gives a list of Jain teachers of the Kumdakundachāryānvaya of the Balātakara Gaṇa of Mulasaṁgha. This is followed by a list of the followers of these teachers, beginning with Ahāradāndāneśvara Śri Siṁghai[252] Lakṣamaṇa belonging to the Aṣataśākha of *Paurapādānavaya*. The inscription records the con-

[252] The word *Siṁghai* is the Prakrit form of *Saṁghādhipati*; but here it is used as a surname.

struction of a *maṇḍapa* in the Śantinātha temple by Jugarāja with the help of Saṁgha Śrī and the installation of an image by Pandita Nain Siha. The names of two *sūtradhāras*, apparently stone-cutters or sculptors, are given at the end.

Text:[253]

औं :
आत्मर्थं श्रय मुंच मोह गगनं मित्र विवेकं कुरू
वैराग्यं भज भावयस्व नियत भेद शरीरात्मनः।
धर्मध्यान सुधा समुद्रकुहरे कृत्वाऽवगाहं परम्।
पश्यानन्त सुख स्वभाव कलितं मुक्ति मुखाम्भोरूहं ॥१॥
आयुस्त्वंन्यन्तं तुष्टिं विदधतु विविधाश्चापक्ष ध्नन्तु विघ्नाना
कुर्वचारोग्यभुर्वो वलय विलसितां कीतिवल्ली सृजन्तु
धर्म सम्वर्धयन्त श्रियमधिरामा मन पायां ------चेष्टिकामान्।
कैवल्य श्री कटाक्षानपि जिन चरणा सज्जयन्तं -----सावः
संवत् १४९३ शाके १३५८ वर्षे वैशाष वदि ५ गुरौ दिने
मूल नक्षत्रे श्री मूल संघे बलात्कार गणे सरस्वती गच्छे कुन्द-
कुन्दाचार्यन्यवे भट्टारकः प्रभाचन्द्र देव तच्छिष्य वादवदीन्द्र
भट्टारक श्री पद्मनन्दिदेव तच्छिष्य श्री देवेन्द्र कीर्तिदेवस्त-
त्यो (पौर) दार पदा नव्ये अष्टशाखे आहारदान दानेश्वरः
श्री सिंघई लक्ष्मणः तस्य भार्या अक्षय श्री तस्याः कुक्ष्याउत्पन्न
सिंघई अर्जुनस्तस्य भार्या क्षेमा त (त्र) वः जातः खेमराज
तत्भार्या खियु सिणि संघाधिपतिर्जुनस्त तत्पुत्र संधाधिपति
सिंघई जुगराज तस्य भार्या गुण श्रीः सुबान्धव वद्यस्तत्पुत्र
भार्या पद्मम श्री तत्पुत्र जवबं रामदेवः तत्भार्या काल श्री
तत्पुत्रः सिंघई चतुर्थवतः तत्भार्याख्य श्रीः ख्युराज तस्य
पुत्रः भ्युराजश्चम्यु श्रीः तस्य भार्या, सघन पतिः तत्पुत्रः
भ्राता धेनुः श्री शान्तिनाथ चैत्यालयै सकल कला प्रवीणः
पदमस्तस्थ भार्यापूर्ण श्रीः तस्या पुत्र पंडित नयन सिह स्तेन
प्रतिष्ठतं संघात्यंपति सिघई जुगराजः तेन कर्मक्षयनिमितेमेदं
कारितं नित्यं प्रणमन्ति। सूत्रधार जैनसि पुत्रक कर्मचन्द्रः
सघनपतिः तत्पुत्रः जिन तस्य पुत्र संघषेन सासा सूत्रधारः।
येनकृत मिदं नित्य प्रणमन्तिः।

[253] The text is taken from Mr Bhanu Chandra Jain's thesis 'Deogarh kī Jain Kalā kā Sānskritik Addhyan 1969 (unpublished work), p. 414; with his kind permission. I have not seen the inscription or any stampage.

Translation:[254]

Oṁ! (These lines of the inscription are not clear). In the Samvat year 1493 and the Śaka year 1358 on the fifth day of the dark fortnight of the month of Vaiśākh, on Thursday in Mula-Nakṣatra, Bhaṭṭārak Śrī Prabhācandradeva, follower of Ācārya Kundakunda of Sarasvati gachcha of Balātakāra Gaṇa in Mula Saṁgha, his disciple Bhaṭṭāraka Śrī Padmanandi, like Indra in speech, his disciple Śrī Devandra Kirttīdeva. Śrī Siṁghai Lakṣmaṇ belongs to Asaṭaśākha of *Paurapāda*, his wife Akṣyaśrī [born of] their son Siṁghai Arjuna and his wife Kshemā (and) others also present. Khemrāja his wife Khiyusīṇī, lord of the Saṁgha (*Saṁghādhipati*)[255] was like Arjuna and his son *Saṁghādhipati* Siṁghai Jugarāja, and his wife Guṇaśrī, and his son's wife, Padmaśrī and their son Javaṁava Rāmdeva, his wife Kālaśrī, his son Siṁghai Caturthavat and his wife Khayaśrī, Khiyurāja and his son Myurāja and his wife Mayuśrī, their son Saghanapati and brother Dhenu; Pandita Nayansingh, son of Puranśrī, wife of Padma installed this *maṇḍapa* in Śāntināth temple, well versed in all the arts. Lord of the Saṁgha, Siṁghai, Jugarāja was capable in all doings. Salute daily. (The work) was done by stone-cutter (*sūtradhāra*) Karamcandra son of Jainsī, and stone-cutter (*sūtradhāra*) Saṁghkhensāsā, son of Jin, son of Saghanpati. By them it has been done.

78. Deogarh Fort Inscription

Reported in *PRASI*, (*NC*), 1917–18, No. 1. Text not available.

This inscription was found on a pillar to the west of a Jain temple at Deogarh Fort. It has nine lines written in corrupt Sanskrit in Nagari script, and is dated Samvat year 1493, on the 10th day of the bright half of the month Māgha on Wednesday/15 January A.D. 1437.

The inscription records the installation of an image (*biṁba*) by Māhīcandra. It also mentions the name of Sulṭān Maḥmud with the title of *Mahārājādhirāja*.

[254] The translation is my own; no other translation has been published.

[255] The literal meaning of *Saṁghādhipati* is lord or head of the *Saṁgha*, but in Jain literature it often signified a leader of a group of pilgrims. Cf. Dr Bhojilal J. Sandesara, *Literary Circle of Mahāmātya Vastupāla*, Sri Bhadura Singh Sindhi, Memoirs, No. 3, 1953, pp. 35–57.

Sulṭān Maḥmūd, of the Khaljī dynasty of Malwa, ascended the throne on 29 Shawwal 839 or 16 May/A.D. 1436.[256] Two other Deogarh inscriptions in Jain temples also mention this ruler (see ins. no. 84 and 85). Maḥmūd Shāh ruled until A.D. 1469 and his control over Chanderi is attested to by the *Ma'asir-i Maḥmud Shāhī*.[257] Deogarh is also situated close to Chanderi.

79. Sati Stone Inscription, Mirzapur District

Reported in *ARIE*, 1959–60, List No. B 750.

This inscription was discovered on a *satī* stone slab (with figures in relief) at Aṣṭabhuja[258] hill near Vindhyachal in Mirzapur district. It is written in a local dialect and is dated V.S. 1494/A.D. 1437. The inscription, though damaged, seems to record an act of *satī*. The text has not been available.

80. Deogarh Fort Inscription

Reported in *ARIE, 69–70*, No. C 2994; *PRASI*, (*NC*), 1917–18, No. 97, Text not available.

Found on the pillar of the Jain, temple (no. 16) in Deogarh Fort, this inscription is written in a local dialect in Nagari script. It is dated V.S. 1495 Māgha Sudi of Wednesday/21 January A.D. 1439. The inscription records the name of Haṅsarāja and some members of his family.

81. Deogarh Fort Inscription

Reported in *PRASI* (*NC*), 1917–18, No. 123. Text not available.

Discovered on the outside of the west wall of the Jain temple (no. 28) in Deogarh Fort, this inscription consists of one line written in

256 *Ma'asir-i Maḥmud Shāhi*, p. 29.

257 Ibid., pp. 15, 30 *et passim*.

258 Aṣṭabhuja is a noted place of pilgrimage on the northern most spur of the Vindhaya table and, 8 miles south-west of Mirzapur and $2^1/_2$ miles south-east of Bindhyachal. The name of this place is derived from the tutelar diety, the Aṣṭabhuja devi or eight limbed goddess, one of the numerous titles of the consort of Śiva. Atkinson, op.cit., XIV, pt. I, p. 153.

corrupt Sanskrit in Nagari script. It is dated v.s. 1496, Āṣādha badi 13/10 July A.D. 1439. The purpose of this inscription is not clear.

82. Deogarh Fort Inscription

Reported in *PRASI*, (*NC*), 1917–18, No. 34. Text not available.

This inscription was found on a pillar in the pavillion of a Jain temple at Deogarh fort. Its sixteen lines are written in corrupt Sanskrit in Nagari script, and the dated is v.s. 1500/A.D. 1443.

83. Deogarh Fort Inscription

Reported in *ARIE*, 1969–70, No. C. 2985, *PRASI*, (*NC*), 1917–18, No. 35. Text not available.

Found on the western doorway of the Jain temple (no. 5) of Deogarh fort, this inscription is written in Sanskrit in Nagari script and records the names of a few people. The inscription is dated v.s. 1500/ A.D. 1443.

84. Deogarh Fort Inscription

Reported in *PRASI*, (*NC*), 1915–16, No. 16. Text not available.

This inscription is engraved on a large slab above the doorway inside the Lakhputli temple in the Deogarh fort. It has fifteen lines written in a mixture of Sanskrit and Hindi in Nagari script. The date given is Samvat 1503/A.D. 1446. It mentions the name of *Mahārājādhirāja* Sulṭān Maḥmūd. The inscription was engraved during the reign of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Shāh Khaljī (see note on inscription no. 78). Malwa' who ruled between A.D. 1436 and 1469.

If the reporter's identification of the language as being partly Hindi is correct, it would be the earliest record in that language in this collection.

85. Deogarh Fort Inscription

Reported in *PRASI*, (*NC*), 1917–18, No. 37. *ARIE*, 1970–1, C 3163. Text not available.

This inscription was found on the eastern doorway inside the Jain temple (no. 5) of Deogarh fort. Its fourteen lines are written in corrupt Sanskrit in Nagari script, and the date is v.s. 1503 Bhādra, Sudi 7 Monday/28 August A.D. 1446. It records the installation of Jineśvara, probably by Saṁghapati Siṁasīha and a renovation of the temple. The inscription has names of several other people, and also the name of the territorial division Chanderi *gacchadeśa* (province of the Chanderi Fort'), to which Deogarh apparently belonged.

Out of the fourteen lines, the text of only one has been given by Mr Bhanu Chandra Jain of Ratlam in an unpublished thesis. This line gives the date and the name of the Malwa ruler, Maḥmūd Shāh (See note on inscription no. 78.) The text of this portion is given here.

Text:

सोमवासरे भाद्रपद सुदि सप्तमी विक्रमं
· संवत १५०३ सुरत्राण महमूद

Translation:

In the v.s. 1503 Bhādra Sudi seven on Monday Surtrāṇa (Sulṭān) Maḥmūd . . . . .

86. Soron Inscription

Reported in *PRASI*, (*NC*), 1918–19, No. 52; *ARIE*, 1957–8. List No. C 284.

This inscription was discovered in the temple of Sitā Rāmjī, at Soron near the Gaṅgā in Etah district. It consists of fifteen lines written in 'Hindi' in Nagari script. The date given is v.s. 1508 Caitra Sudi 15 Wednesday/17 March A.D 1451. It refers to Jogatīrtha as one of the sacred places of Sūkarkshetra. The Jogatīrtha was a designation of Soron which was a place of pilgrimage. (See nos. 34A & B.)

This inscription records the death of the goldsmith Sasu, son of Saghramu, and also has the names of his two sons, Makara and Rakama. The inscription seems to be a very early record in Hindi and may be of some significance from the point of view of linguistic history. Its text, unfortunately, is not available.

87. Lauri Inscription

Reported by Cunningham, *ASR*, X, p. 16; Führer, *Monumental Antiquities*, p. 154.

Lauri (or Lokhri), is a village in Mau tehsil, 52 miles south-east of Banda, at the foot of the Vindhya ranges. To the south-west of Lauri there is a small fort. Between the fort and the village there is a tank, on the banks of which stands a large stone elephant. This inscription is engraved on this stone elephant. The inscription, badly damaged, is written in corrupt Sanskrit in Nagari script. It is dated Samvat year 1516[259] Friday the 5th day of the waxing moon of Kārttika/I November A.D. 1459. Many of the letters in the inscription are indistinct and the name of the Sulṭān is illegible. The stampage of the inscription is not traceable; the only text known is that read by Cunningham, which is given here. From Brockman's translation of the same inscription, it is evident that his decipherment of the text is altogether different.

Text: (transliterated)[260]

bād hukmu pharmāni Śrī *Miyān* Bhikan .... *Miyān* .... kā ... betā Khwāja Muhammad kā potā chelā (?) Bir Singh Dev ju pedikā dāka

Translation:

'After issuing the royal order Śrī *Miyān* Bhikan, ... son of *Miyān* ... grandson of Khwājā Muhammad disciple (?) of Bīr Singh deva ju ....'

This is as accurate a translation as I have been able to give. It

[259] Brockman gives the Samvat year as 1526 (*Banda District Gazetteer*, pp. 269–70) but Cunningham and Führer both give it as 1516.

[260] Text as printed in transliteration in Cunningham, *ASR*, X, p. 16.

has not been possible to determine the meaning of the words *pedikā dāka*.

Brockman,[261] who had read the text apparently quite differently from Cunningham, gives the following translation.

> 'Ibrahim Khan son of Phaphund Khan, servant of Bīr Singh Deo, built this fort and erected the stone elephant in Samvat 1526.'

Such vastly differing readings naturally detract from the historical value of the inscription. Cunningham identified *Miyān* Bhikam with Bhikhan Khān, who ruled as Muḥammad Shāh Sharqi in A.D. 1457–8. The area was certainly under Sharqi rule,[262] and *hukm pharmānī* (Persian, *hukm farmān*) suggests that the order was issued by royalty. However, there is a chronological discrepancy because Bhikan Khān was killed in A.D. 1458,[263] where as the inscription is dated A.D. 1459 or perhaps even A.D. 1469. Moreover, the use of the title *Miyān* for a Sharqi ruler is unusual and even unlikely.

The only name which corresponds in the readings of Cunningham is that of Bīr Singh, whom Cunningham identifies with a *rājā* of Bara of that name.

The *rājā* of Bara[264] is the representative of an old family of Baghels[265] descended from Bangesh Deo who came from Gujarat and was the ancestor of the Rewah and Kotah houses.[266] Bīr Singh was apparently one of the Baghel chiefs. The extreme east of the Banda district seems to have been left in the power of the Baghels, who remained practically independent.[267]

88. Jhansi Fort Inscription

Reported in *ARIE*, 1958–9, No. C 409; *PRASI*, (*NC*), 1915–16, No. 13.

Found on a stone slab near the Gupta temple in Jhansi fort, this inscription is written in Sanskrit and a local dialect in Nagari script.

[261] *Banda District Gazetteer*, pp. 269–70.

[262] *Banda District Gazetteer*, pp. 164–6.

[263] '*The Sharqi Sultanate of Jaunpur*', pp. 78–80.

[264] Bara is one of the tehsils of Allahabad district. Atkinson, op. cit., III, pt. I, 1884, pp. 10, 110.

[265] 'Baghel is a branch of the Solanki tribe of Rajputs. They give name to the large principality of Baghelkhand or Rewa, to the south of Allahabad and were formerly rulers of Gujerat.' (Elliot and Beams, *Supplemental Glossary*, I, pp. 49–50.)

[266] *Allahabad District Gazetteer*, p. 106.

[267] *Banda District Gazetteer*, p. 166.

The date given is v.s. 1518 Jyeṣṭha Sudi Tuesday/A.D. 1461. The text is not available. The inscription records the act of *satī* committed by the wife of Gaṅga Mahārājā, son of Gaṅgapati. The deceased chief cannot be identified.

89. Deogarh Fort Inscription

Reported in *ARIE*, 1956–7. No. C 139.

This inscription was found in the Jain temple (no. 4) of Deogarh fort. It is written in Sanskrit in Nagari script, and is dated v.s. 1528/ A.D. 1471. The text is not available and the purpose of this inscription remains unclear.

90. Kalinjar Fort Inscription[268]

Reported by Maisey, 'Description of the Antiquities of Kalinjar' *JASB*, XVII, p. 175, fn. 14; Führer, op. cit., p. 151; *Banda District Gazetteer*, p. 241.

There is a reservoir called the Hanumān Kunda near the Hanumān darwaza (the fifth gate) of Kalinjar fort. This inscription is engraved on the left side of the gate. It has one line written in a local dialect in Nagari script, and is dated Samvat year 1530/A.D. 1473. It records the fact that Manūvirīni salutes Śiva daily.

Text:

महेश कह प्रणाम्स्त्रि (श्री) मनूविरीनि थनि जौफ निते
प्रति संवत १५३०.

Translation:

Śrī Manūvirīni salutes Maheśa (Śiva) daily in Samvat 1530.

[268] There appear to be three other pilgrimage inscriptions near this inscription. These are dated Samvat years 1560, 1580 and 1600.

91. Kalinjar Fort Inscriptions

Reported by Maisey, *JASB* XVII, p. 192, fn. 83; Atkinson, op.cit., I, p. 470.

Two inscriptions were found on the Viṣṇu image in the Nilakaṇṭha temple in the Kalinjar fort; one at the top of the image and the other below. The former is dated Samvat 1540/A.D. 1483 and latter Samvat year (–) 440 Kārttika Sudi 15.[269] The earlier one mentions the name of Ganeśa and the latter has the name of Udaicanda preceded by the word '*satrgar*', which is probably a corrupt form of '*sutar*' meaning a carpenter.

Text:

नन्दि फहल प्रणामु गणेश फंदि पदर फनिहतं
संवत १५४०
नन्दि गणक प्रणाम सत्रगर उदैचंद
(-) ४४० कार्त्तिक सुदि १५ निथ प्रति

Translation:

Ganeśa salutes to Nandi in Samvat year 1540.
Satrgar Udaicanda salutes daily to Nandi Gaṇa in Samvat year (–) 440 Kārttika Sudi 15.

92. Kalinjar Fort Inscriptions

Reported by Maisey, *JASB*, XVII, p. 189, fn. 63; Atkinson, op.cit., p. 468; *Banda District Gazetteer*, p. 248.

On either side of the gateway of the Nilakaṇṭha temple at Kalinjar fort, there are three inscriptions which are dedicated to the praise of various deities and record the names of pilgrims.[270] All these inscriptions are written in a local dialect in Nagari script. The earlier inscription is dated Samvat 1540/A.D. 1483 and the second one mentions the name of 'Bābu'. The text of the last one is on the margin of the gateway, and is dated Samvat year 1547 Vaiśākha Sudi 11, on Thursday/13 May A.D. 1489.

[269] The first digit of the Samvat year is not recorded.
[270] Other records of Samvat year 1579 also found.

Text:

नीलकंठ प्रणामु दाद्रक जुग जुग निथं प्रति
संवत् १५४७ समये वैशाख सुदि ११ गुरौ कह लिखौ।

Translation:

Dādraka and others [names not clear] salute daily to Nilakaṇṭha (Śiva) and (this) record is being written in the Samvat year 1547 Vaiśākha Sudi 11 on Thursday.

93. Deogarh Fort Inscription

Reported in *ARIE*, 1956–7, No. C 216; *PRASI*, (*NC*), 1917–18, No. 130.

This inscription was found in the Siddhi-ki-Guphā of Deogarh fort.[271] It is written in Hindi in Nagari script and is dated v.s. 1545/A.D. 1488. The inscription mentions *rājā* Vīr and Śrī Hāje Pavar. Nothing is known about these two men. The Persian word for year *sāl* is used as well as version of *kumāra*, *kuṁwar*, for the king's son. Both are rather early uses of these Hindi words.

Text:[272]

संवत् १५४५ की साल, श्री राजा वीर व-
कुंअर राजकुमार महाराज श्री हाजे पवार श्री -----।

Translation:

In the Samvat year 1545 Śrī *rājā* Vīr, Kuṁvar Rājkumār Mahārāja Śrī Hāje Pavār, Śrī . . . . .

94. Deogarh Fort Inscription

Reported in *ARIE*, 1956–7, No. C 211; *PRASI*, (*NC*), 1917–18, No. 130.

Text not available.

Engraved on the left jamb of the Rajaghati[273] in Deogarh fort,

[271]Siddhi Kī Guphā is an irregularly hollowed out cave, with three openings formed by two rough pillars, supporting a low roof, *Jhansi District Gazetteer*, p. 250.

[272] Impression obtained from the Chief Epigraphist Office, Mysore. My own reading and translation is given here.

[273]'On the south side of the hill there are two staircases called Rajaghati and Nahghati, cut out of the solid rock along which there are several carvings. *Jhansi District Gazetteer*, p. 249.

this inscription is written in a local dialect in Nagari script. It is dated v.s. 1549 Phālguna Sudi 10, Wednesday/8 February A.D. 1492. The inscription is damaged and the text is not available.

95. Stone Inscription

Reported in *Catalogue of Lucknow Provincial Museum* No. E 35; *ARIE*, 1957–8, No. B 580; *Descriptive List of Coins and Inscriptions*, pp. 100–01; edited by V.S. Agarwala, 'A Sanskrit Inscription of the Reign of Sikandar Shah Lodi', *Journal of U.P. Historical Society*, IX, pt. II, pp. 63–9.

In his catalogue of inscriptions in the Lucknow Provincial Museum, Pandit Hiranand Sastri gives a brief description of this stone inscription: 'At the back of this slab we see three panels. The two on the side contain a lotus flower. The third one which is chiselled at the middle contains a short inscription in Persian recording the construction of a well in Hijra era 1106 or 1168 (?).'

The original site of the inscription, now preserved in the Lucknow State Museum, is not known. Engraved on a sandstone tablet which measures $27^{2}/_{3}'' \times 11^{1}/_{2}''$, the inscription consists of seven lines written in Sanskrit in Nagari script. It is dated v.s. year 1549 the 9th day of the bright fortnight of the month Vaiśākha, Sunday/17 April A.D. 1491.

As regards the orthography, the engraver distinguishes *b* from *v*, while writing Bahalol, but he makes a mistake in writing *babhuva* in line 5 where the labial is not distinguished from the semi-vowel. The cerebral aspirate *ṣ* instead of guttural *kha* is constantly used, e.g. *vaisaṣa* and *ṣanenadro* in lines 1 and 2. The engraver confuses the dental and cerebral nasals in line 3, *Vuḍhaṇa* and in line 6 *Vuḍhana* for the same name.

The inscription records the construction of a bridge by Vuḍhana, a minister of Sikandar Lodī. Vuḍhaṇa, 'the Bahlīm', was an official of Gadan Khān, a noble of Sikandar Lodī. Unfortunately, Gadan Khān cannot be identified. Neither is he mentioned in any of the sources, nor does he appear in the list of Lodi nobles compiled by Professor I.H. Siddiqui.[274]

It is striking too that neither Crooke nor the *Meerut District Gazetteer* contain any reference to Bhalīms. Elliot says of the

[274] 'The Composition of the Nobility under the Lodi Sultans', *Medieval India A Miscellany*, IV, (Delhi,) 1977, pp. 10–67.

Bahlīms, that there is a community of 'Shaikhs' known by this name in Dasana and Meerut (parganas) in Meerut District. In Rohilkhand, some Banjaras also apparently have this name (Elliot & Dowson, *Supplemental Glossary*, I, p. 50).

Text: (I give the text as read by V.S. Agarwala. I have checked it with the stampage of the original). *Plate: XVIII.*

१. सिंद्धि संवत १५४९ वर्षे वैशाष (वैशाख) सुदि ९ रविवासरे
सुरत्राण
२. बहलोल पुत्रः सहि(साहि)। सिकन्दरः राजतै तस्य षानेन्द्रो गदनो
३. मदनोपमः। तस्य राज्य महाभार धुरं वहति वुढणः।
४. तेनायं कारित सेर्तु (सेतुः) न्यायेनोपार्जितै धनै जातः
५. प्रिथिव्यां (पृथिव्या) वहलीम वंश सुसाहन तस्य वभूव
षरदी।
६. तस्यात्मजः सं प्रति बुढनाख्याः प्रियः प्रजानांनद
(आनंद)
७. कृद्विराजेत। लि ज पूत्रेण (पुत्रेण) राधा

Translation:[275]

1. Success! In the Samvat year 1549, on Sunday, the 9th day of the bright half of the month Vaiśākha Suratrāṇa (Sultān.)
2. Bahlol's son is *Sahi* Sikandar. His chief Khān Gadana—
3. who is (handsome) like Madana (Cupid or the god of love). The weight of his *rāj* (principality, kingdom) is borne by Vuḍhaṇa whose shoulders (alone can carry that weight).
4. By him has been constructed this bridge, out of his rightfully earned wealth.
5. On the earth was born in the Bahlīm family Susahana. His son was Khardī.
6. His son, now living, is named Vuḍhana, beloved of his *prajā* (subjects) and giver of joy to them.
7. Written by Rādhā, son of Ja.

[275] I have followed the translation given by V.S. Agarwala, except for a few changes.

96. Kalinjar Fort Inscription

Reported by Atkinson, op.cit., I. p. 466. Text not available.

This inscription was found on a female figure, on the left of Mirak Bhairon, at Kalinjar fort. It is written in Sanskrit in Nagari script, and the given is V.S. 1563/A.D. 1506.

The inscription mentions the name of Manu. According to Brockman, there seems to have been extensive construction carried out at Kalinjar between 1550 and 1600 Samvat.[276] Manu Vijaya appears to have been the principal architect and sculptor.

97. Kalinjar Fort Inscription

Reported by Maisey, *JASB*, XVII, p. 174, fn. 10; *Banda District Gazetteer*, p. 240.

This inscription is engraved on the third gate of the Candī Darwaza of Kalinjar fort. It consists of four lines written in a local dialect in Nagari script. Four dates are given; Samvat years 1572/A.D. 1515, 1600/1543, 1199/1142 and 1580/1525 (same order as in text). The inscription records a short petition to Śiva (the tutelary deity of the rock) by Manu Vijaka, Gopal and Ganeśa.

Text:

महेश कह प्रणामु मनु वीजक स० १५७२.
वसुदेव कह प्रणाम गोपाल देवक नीत्य प्रति सं० १६००.
महेश कह प्रणामु जवानंदक जीगरथ फदित प्रप्ति संवत ११९९ (?)
महेश कृह प्रणामु गणेश कह दिवदरेक दिन संवत १५८०.

Translation:

Manu Vijaka salutes to Maheśa in S. 1572. Gopaldeva salutes to Vasudeva daily in S. 1600. (Name of person is not clear) salutes to Maheśa S. 1199(?).

Ganeśa salutes to Maheśa (Śiva) daily in Samvat 1580.

[276] *Banda District Gazetteer*, p. 246.

98. Naraini Pillar Inscription

Reported in *ARIE*, 1959–60, List No. C 481. Impression obtained from the Chief Epigraphist's Office, Mysore.

This inscription was discovered on the base of a pillar to the right of the temple at Naraini[277] village in Kalinjar. It is written in Sanskrit in Nagari script and is dated Samvat year 1576/A.D. 1519. Some words of the inscription from lines 1 and 2 are indistinct. The names mentioned (Prānanāth, Paṅganāth, Gopīnāth, Mānasiṁgh and Nandansiṁgh) are probably those of devotees who have made offerings.

Text:[278]

---- नित्य प्रणमति
-----गोत्र प्राननाथ पंग नाथ गोपी
नाथ मान सिंघ नन्दन सिंह
संवतु (संवत) १५७६

Translation:

. . . Salute daily
. . . *gotra*, Prānanāth, Paṅganāth, Gopināth,
Mānasiṁghs and Nandan Siṁgha.
Samvat year 1576.

99. Agra Stone Inscription

Reported in *ARIE*, 1960–1. List No. B 607. Impression of the inscription has been obtained from Chief Epigraphist Office, Mysore.

A badly damaged, inscribed slab was found on a rock near the tank in Tantpur village of Agra. Thirteen lines written in the local idalect in Nagari script. The date of the inscription is Samvat 1578 Sudi 5, Friday/A.D. 1521. The month is not recorded. The

[277] Naraini village is situated to the north-east of Banda, 10 miles from Girwan, at the junction of the roads from Kalinjar and Kartal leading from the south. (*Banda District Gazetteer*, pp. 279–80; *Monumental Antiquities*, p. 155).

[278] The text and translation of the inscription are given here for the first time.

middle lines of the inscription are broken and only the words *ṭhākura* (line 5) and the name of Vāsudeva Śriman, the son of Nerū, (in lines 8 and 9) can be read.

Very little of this inscription can be deciphered because of its badly damaged condition. The only point of interest is the spelling of the word *ṭhākura*, with an elongated first vowel, instead of the form *ṭhakkura*. The title *ṭhākura* is generally used for a person of rank and authority in different parts of India.[279] The form *ṭhākura*, as opposed to *ṭhakkura*, makes its earliest appearance in the Kalachuri inscripitons of A.D. 1158–9 and 1401–02.[280]

Text:[281]

१. रमा नम (नमः) रमा नम रमा
२. सिधि (सिद्धि) संवतु (त) १५७८
३. ----------
४. ----------
५. ठाकुर
६. ----------
७. राती रामा राम रमे राम नम
८. ते रमा रमा मे
९. सदा सरन ---------
१०. नेरु को वेटा श्रीमन;
११. वासुदेव को
१२. सिधि (सिद्धि) संवतु (संवत) १५७८
१३. पंचमी सुक्रवासो (शुक्रवासरे)

Translation:

. . . Salute to Ramā, Salute to Ramā! Hail, Samvat year 1578 . . . . . *ṭhākura* . . . . . Sadāsaran . . . . . .Vasudeva, and Śrīman son of Nerū . . . . . .in the Samvat year 1578, 5th Sudi, Friday.

[279] Monier Williams, *Sanskrit English Dictionary*, s.v; Wilson's *Glossary*, p. 517.
[280] *CII*, IV, p. II, pp. 576–7, 585–6.
[281] Text and translation published here for the first time.

100. Kalinjar Fort Inscription

Reported by Maisey, *JASB*, XVII, p. 175, fn. 11; Atkinson, op.cit., I, pp. 460–1.

This inscription was found on the fourth gate or the Budhbadrai gate of Kalinjar fort. It is written in a local dialect in Nagari script, and is dated Samvat 1580/A.D. 1523. The inscription contains a short prayer to Śiva by Manu (see under nos. 90, 97).

Text:

महेश कह प्रणामु मनु बीजक सं १५८०।

Translation:

Manu Vijaka salutes to Śiva in Samvat year 1580.

Appendix A

Qutb Minar Inscriptions of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries

1. Reported by Page, *Memoir*, No. 22, p. 41; *ARIE*, 1958–9, List no. No. C 359.

This one line inscription, written in Nagari script, was found on the right hand jamb of the door of the second balcony in the Qutb Minar. It is dated Samvat year 1599/ A.D. 1542.

Most of the inscription is undecipherable. It might have been left by a casual visitor.

Text:

गोपा गोपा के ..... दया

सम्वत् १५९९ .....

Translation:

Gopā Gopā . . . . . in the Samvat year 1599.

2. Reported by Page, *Memoir*, No. 22, p. 41; *ARIE*, 1958–9, List No. C 360.

This inscription is engraved on the face of the eighth angle on the left hand side of second balcony in the Qutb Minar. It has one line written in a local dialect in Nagari script. The word *sang-tarās* used for stone-cutter is Persian *sang-tarāsh*. The inscription is dated Samvat year 1599/ A.D. 1542.

Text:

समत् १५९९ लिषीतं सिष संगत्रासु हीरा पुत्र

Translation:

Written in the Samvat year 1599 (by) the stone-cutter Sikh son of Hīrā.

3. Reported by Page, *Memoir*, No. 22, p. 41; *ARIE*, 1958–9, List No. C 358.

This inscription is engraved on the left hand abutment of door of the second balcony of Qutb Minar. It consists of one line written in a local dialect in Nagari script, and is dated Samvat year 1617/ A.D. 1560.

Text:

६ माघ समत् १६१७

Translation:

On the 6th (day of the month) Māgha of the Samvat year 1617.

4. Reported in *PRASI*, (*NC*), 1919–20, p. 9; *ARIE*, 1958–9, List No. C 312.

This small inscription was found on the white granite slab on the top of the first storey of the Qutb Minar. Its three lines are written in the local dialect in Nagari script. Some words in all of the three lines are defaced. The date is Samvat year 1704 on the 9th day of the dark fortnight of the month Māha (Māgha)/4th February A.D. 1648.

This inscription also contains the word *sang-tarāsh* and records the names of stone-cutters belonging to the Caṇḍāla family (*caṇḍāla vaṁsa*). The masons, therefore, belonged to the 'menial' (Caṇḍāla) castes and it is a curious fact that they themselves should mention this in the inscription.

Text:

सम्वत् १७०४ माह वदी नोमी तुलसी व हीरादेवीदास
माधोलाल ----------बद्र गु----------संगत्रास
चंडाल वंसी ----------राम

Translation:

In the Samvat year 1704 on the 9th day of the dark fortnight of the month Māha (Māgha) Tulsī and Hīrā Devīdās . . . . Madholāl and Badrgu . . . the stone-cutters of the *caṇḍālavaṁsa* . . . Rām.

Appendix B

Names of the Sulṭāns	*Sanskrit Version*	*Reference in Inscriptions*	*Nagari legend on coins*	*References*
1. Shāhābuddīn	Sāhavadīna	Ins. nos. 1, 4, 11.	Śrī Mahamad Sām, Śrī Mahamad bin Sām, Śrī Mad Hamīr Mahamad Sām	Nelson Wright, *The Coinage and Metrology of the Sultans of Delhi*, (Reprint 1974), Nos. 3, 4, 5, 10–13, 17–19; Edward Thomas, *The Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, (Delhi 1967), p. 16, No. 13, p. 20, Nos. 18–19.
2. Quṭbuddīn Aibak	Khuduvadina, Malikdīna or Malakdīna	Ins. nos. 1, 3, 4.	—	—
3. Shamsuddīn Iltutmish	Samasadīna, Śrimat Suratrāṃ Samastadīna, Samsudīna	Ins. no. 1, 4; II, 11.	Suritrāṇa Śrī Samasdīn, Samsadī, Śrī Sultān Iliti-timisi Saṁvat 1283, Sri Samasdīn	Wright, Nos. 54–5, 121–2, 131–2; Thomas, p. 74, No. 44; p. 71, No. 42.
4. Ruknuddīn Fīruz	Pheroz Sāhī	Ins. no. 1, 4.	Suratrāṃ Śri Rukunadīn	Wright, Nos. B 155–6; Thomas, p. 103, No. 89.
5. Jalāluddīn Raẓiyya	Jalāladīn	Ins. no. 1, 4.	—	—
6. Mu'izzuddīn Bahrām	Mauzadīna . .	Ins. no. 1, 4.	Suratrāṇa Śri Mauzdi — Mueez	Wright, Nos. 173–4; Thomas, p. 119, Nos. 94–5.
7. 'Alāuddīn Mas'ūd	Alāvadīna	Ins. no. 1, 4.	Suratrāṇa Śri Alāvadin, Śri Alava Suratrāṇ; Alavadi	Wright, Nos. 190, 197, 204–07; Thomas, p. 122, No. 100; p. 124, No. 105.
8. Naṣīruddīn Maḥmūd	Nasaradīna	Ins. no. 1, 4.	—	—
9. Ghiyāṣu-ddin Balban	Śrī Hammīra Gayāsdīna	Ins. no. 1, 4.	Sri Sultān Gayāsadi	Wright, Nos. 244–6; Thomas, p. 135, No. 113.
10. Mu'izzuddīn Kaiqubād			Śri Sultān Muizudi	Wright, Nos. 623–6; Thomas, p. 142, No. 117.
11. Jalāluddīn Fīruz Khaljī	Jalaldīna	Ins. no. 1, 5.	Śrī Sultān Jalaludīn	Wright, Nos. 287–90; Thomas, p. 145, No. 122.
12. 'Alāuddīn Khaljī	Śri Alāvadī	Ins. no. 1, 6.	Śri Sultān Alāvadī	Wright, Nos. 342–3; Thomas, p. 172, No. 136.
13. Ghiyāṣuddīn Tughluq	—		Śri Sultān Gayāsudīn	Wright, Nos. 464–6
14. Muḥammad Bin Tughluq	Muhammad Surtrāṇa, Surtrāṇa Mahmad Śāhi, Mahmud Sāhi, Mahmad Shāhi, Pātisāha — Mahammadā	Ins. nos. 1, 8A & B, 10, 11. II, 59.		

Name of the Sulṭāns	*Sanskrit Version*	*Inscriptions*	*Nagari legend on coins*	*References*
15. Fīrūz Shāh	Pheroz Shāhi; Peroj Sāhī	Ins. nos. II, 65, 66. Ins. nos. I, 13, 14.		
16. Bahlol Lodī	Suratrāṇa Śri Bhalal Suratrāṇa Bhalol	Ins. no. II, 95; I, 18. I, 18.		
17. Sikandar Lodī	Pāti Śrī Sikandar, Sāhī Sikandar	Ins. no. II, 95; I, 18.		
18. Ibrāhīm Lodī	Sultān Ibrāhim	Ins. no. I, 20.		
19. Alp Khān, Hoshang Shāh Ghori of Mālwa	Sāhi Ālaṁbhaka	Ins. no. II, 75.		
20. Maḥmūd Shāh Khaljī of Malwa	Mahārājadhirāja Mahamud, Surtarāṇa Mahamud	Ins. nos. II, 78. 84, 85.		

Other Persian/Arabic Names	*Sanskrit Version*	*Reference in Inscriptions*
1. Shaikh Yaḥya Bāyizīd	Shaikh Ahiyā Bājīd	Ins. no. I, 18.
2. Murādi Khatūn	Muradi Khātu	,, ,, ,, ,,
3. Dilāwar Khān	Dilāwar Khāt	,, ,, ,, ,,
4. Malik Shahābuddīn	Malik Sāhavaḍīnā	Ins. no. II, 59.
5. Bahādur Khān	Bahadar Khān	Ins. no. I, 20.
6. Bībī 'Ayīsha	Bibi Śri Āsā	Ins. no. I, 18.
7. Shairānī, Sarāti	Serātī	,,
8. Sarwāni	Sarwāṇi	,,
9. Sher Khān	Ser Khān	Ins. no. II, 65.
10. Malik Turk	Malak Turak	Ins. no. II, 65.

Bibliography

A. Texts of Inscriptions

Agarwala, V. S., 'A Sanskrit Inscription of the Reign of Sikandar Shah Lodi', *JUPHS*, IX, pt. I, Lucknow, July 1936, pp. 64–7.

———, 'Jaunpur Brick Inscription of Vikram Samvat 1273,' *JUPHS*, XVIII, pt. II, Lucknow 1946, pp. 196–201.

Awasthy, R.S. and Ghosh, Amalananda., Reference to Muhammandans in Sanskrit Inscriptions in Northern India', 730 A.D. to 1320 A.D., *JIH*, XV, pt. II, Trivandrum, 1936, pp. 161–84.

Benerji, Rakhal Das, 'The Belkhera Inscription and Machchlishahr Grant of Harishcand', *JASB*, *NS*, VII, Calcutta, 1915, pp. 757–70.

———, 'Mathura Inscription in Indian Museum', *JASB*, *NS*, V, Calcutta, 1909, pp. 237–44.

Bhandarkar, D.R., 'List of Inscriptions of Northern India in Brahmi and its Derivative Scripts from about 200 A.C.', *EI*, XIX–XXIII (Appendices).

Blochmann, H., 'Notes on Mathura', *JASB*, 1873, Calcutta, pp. 12–13.

———, 'Reading of Inscription from Tilbegampur', *JASB*, Calcutta, 1875, pp. 15–16.

Blunt, James T., 'Description of Qutb Minar', *Asiatic Researches*, V, London, 1807, pp. 305–9.

Bukhari, Y.K., 'Inscriptions from the Archaeological Museum Red Fort Delhi', *EI* (A. & P. Supplement), Delhi, 1959–60, p. 8.

Cartellieri, W., 'Semra Plates of Parmarddideva, (Vikram) Samvat 1223', *EI*, IV, 1896–7, Delhi, 1979, pp. 153–70.

Cunningham, A., 'Chunar Inscription', *JASB*, V, Calcutta, 1836, pp. 343–7.

Dikshit, K. N., 'Garra Plates of Trailokyavarman of the Year v.s. 1261', *EI*, XVI, pp. 272–7.

Dikshit, R. K., 'Land Grants of Candellas', *JUPHS*, XXIII, pt. I–II, Lucknow, 1950, pp. 228–51.

Diskalkar, D. D., 'Inscriptions in Sanskritic and Provincial Languages', *JOBI*, VI, No. 283, Baroda, 1956–7, pp. 129–39.

Eggeling, J., 'Inscription in Delhi Museum', *EI*, I, pp. 93–5.

Growse, F.S., 'Bulandshahr Antiquities', *JASB*, XLVIII, Calcutta, 1879, pp. 273–5.

Hiralal, Rai Bahadur, 'Charkhari Plate of Viravarmadeva of the year Vikram Samvat 1311', *EI*, XX. pp. 132–4.

———, 'Charkhari Plate of Hammirvarmadeva of the year Vikram Samvat 1346', *EI*, XX, pp. 134–6.

Hirananda, 'Machchlishahr Copper-plate Inscription', *EI*, X, pp. 93–100.

Hultzsch, E., '*Inscriptions of Asoka*,' I, Delhi, 1969.

Joshi, M. C., 'Some Nagari Inscriptions of Qutb Minar', *Medieval India—A Miscellany*, II, Aligarh, 1972, pp. 3–6.

Kielhorn, F., 'Baghari Stone Inscription of Chandella Paramardideva or Batesvar Stone Inscription of Paramardideva of the Vikrama Year 1252', *EI*, I, pp. 207–14.

———, 'Two Chandella Inscriptions from Ajayagaḍh', *EI*, I, pp. 325–30.

———, 'Ajayagaḍh Rock Inscription of the time of Bhojavarman', *EI*, I, pp. 330–8.

———, 'Twenty-one Copper-plates of the Kings of Kannauj (Vikrama) Samvat 1171 to 1233', *EI*, IV, pp. 97–133.

———, 'A List of the Inscriptions of Northern India from about 400 A.D.', *EI*, V, Appendix, pp. 1–96.

———, 'Three Copper-plate Inscriptions of Govinda Caṇdra of Kannauj', *EI*, V, pp. 113–18.

Kittoe, Captain M., 'Note on an Inscription engraved upon a brick found some years ago in a field near village in Jaunpur district by Captain M. Kittoe with a transcript from the original by Hiranand Pandit and a translation by James Ballantyne', *JASB*, XIV, No. VI, Calcutta, 1850, pp. 454–6.

Maisey, Lieutenant, 'Appendix to Lieutenant Maisey's Account of the Antiquities of Kalinjar', *JASB*, XVII, Calcutta, 1848, pp. 313–22.

Mirashi, V.V., (ed.), *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, IV, pt. I, II, Otacamund, 1955.

Misra, Nitya Nanda, 'Four Copper-plate grants of the Chand Rajas of Kumaon', *JUPHS*, XV, pt. II, Lucknow, 1942, pp. 53–70.

Mitra, Rajendra Lal, 'Notes on Sanskrit Inscription from Mathura', *JASB*, XXXIX, Calcutta, 1870, pp. 117–30.

———, 'Translation of, and remarks on Dr Delmerick's Sarabala Inscription from the neighbourhood of Delhi'. *JASB*, Calcutta, 1873, pp. 102–4.

———, 'Note on Palam Baoli Inscription of Delhi', *JASB*, XLIII, Calcutta, 1874, pp. 104–10.

———, 'Inscription from Benaras', *JASB*, Calcutta, 1875, pp. 82–4.

———, 'On the temples of Deogarh', *JASB*, LII, Calcutta, 1883, pp. 164–204.

———, 'Note on a Sanskrit Inscription from Lalitpur district', *JASB*, LII, pt. I, Calcutta, 1883, pp. 67–80.

Nagar, M. M., 'Two Inscriptions in Bharat Kala Bhavan, Benaras', *JUPHS*, IX, pt. I, Lucknow, 1936, pp. 19–21.

Page, J.A., *Historical Memoir on Qutb, Delhi*, Memoirs of *ASI*, No. 22, Calcutta, 1970.

Pathak, V.S., 'New Inscriptions from Ajayagaḍh', *Bharti*, Bulletin of the College of Indology, BHU, Benaras, 1956, I, No. I, pp. 45–7.

Paul, Horn, 'Muhammadan Inscriptions from the Suba of Delhi', *EI*, II, pp. 130–59.

Prinsep, James, 'Ancient Inscription', *JASB*, VII, Calcutta, 1838, p. 105.

———, 'Inscription from Kalinjar', *JASB*, VI, Calcutta, 1837, p. 665.

———, 'Nana Inscription of Ajayagaḍh fort', *JASB*, VI, Calcutta, 1837, pp. 881–7.

Roy, N. B., 'Two Sanskrit Inscriptions during Muhammad Bin Tughluq's reign', *JIH*, XX, pt. I, Trivandrum, 1941, pp. 102–106.

Sahani, Daya Ram, 'Manikarṇikā Ghat (Benaras) Stone Inscription of Vireśvara, v.s. 1359', *IA*, LIII, Bombay, p. 209.
Shastri, Parmananda, 'Naya Mandir Dharampura Dille Ke Jain Murti Lekh' *Anekanta*, XVII, No. I, pt. II, Delhi, 1964, pp. 2.
Smith, V.A., 'Contributions to the History of Bundelkhand', *JASB*, L, pt. I, Calcutta, 1881, pp. 1–53.
Smith, V. A. & Hoey, William, 'Ancient Buddhist Statuettes and a Candella Copper-plate from the Banda District, *JASB*, LXIV, Calcutta, 1896, pp. 155–62.
Srivastava, H.L., 'Rock Inscription at Ajayagadh Fort', *EI*, XXVIII, pp. 98–100.
Venis, Arthur, 'Benaras Copper-plate grant of Govindacandra', *EI*, II, 1970, pp. 358–61.
————, 'Pachar-plate of Paramardideva Vikrama Samvat 1233', *EI*, V, pp. 44–9.

B. Text of Sources

1. Sanskrit

Bṛhadāraṇyakopniṣad, ed. with commentary of Saṁkara and gloss of Anandagiri, Eng. tr. by F. Max Muller *Sacred Books of the East*, XV, pt. II, Delhi, 1965, pp. 77–231.
Kauṭilya (c. 324–300), *Arthaśāstra*, tr. by R.P. Kangle *The Kautilya Arthaśāstra*, Bombay, 1965–70, 1972.
Kalhaṇa (c. 1150), *Rājatraṅgaṇi*, ed. and tr. by M.A. Stein, '*The Chronicle of the Kings of Kashmir*', 2 vols., Westminister, 1900.
Vijñāneśvara (c. 1076–1127)., *Mitākaśara*, NSB, Bombay, 1909.
Acharya, Jain Vijaya Muni, (13th and 14th century), *Khartara Gaccha Brihad Gurvāvali*, (ed. and collected,) Singhi Jain Series, Bhartiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1956.
Merutuṅga (v.s. 1361), *Prabandha Cintāmaṇī*, ed. by Muni Jinavijaya, Eng. tr. by C. H. Tawney, Bib. Indica, Calcutta, 1901.
Vidyapati (1350–1440), *Puruś-parīkśā*, Darbhanga edition, 1960, Eng. tr. by G. A. Grierson, New Series of Oriental Translation Fund, XXXIII, 1935.
Nayacandra Suri (A.D. 1496), *Hammīrmāhakāvya*, ed. by N.J. Kirtane, extract in *IA*, VIII, Bombay, pp. 55–73.
C.D. Dalal & G. K. Srigondekar (15th century) ed. *Lekhapaddhati*, *Gaekwad Oriental Series*, XIX, Baroda, 1925.
Sukracarya (19th century), *Sukranīti*, ed. by G. Oppert, Madras 1882, Eng. tr. by B. K. Sarkar, *SBH*, 1914. See L. Gopal, 'The Sukraniti—a Nineteenth Century Text', *Bulletin of the School of the Oriental and African Studies*, XXV, 1962.

2. Arabic

Abu-Riḥān Al-Berūnī, (c. 1030) *Tārīkhu-l Hind*, tr. by E.C. Sachau under the title, *Alberuni's India*, 2 Vols. Reprint, Delhi, 1964.

Ibn-Baṭṭūtah (1377), *Rehla*, Eng. tr. by Mehdi Husain, '*The Rehla of Ibn Baṭṭūta*: *Gaekwad Oriental Series*, No. CXXII, Baroda 1953; also tr. (abridged), H.A.R. Gibb, *The Travels of Ibn Battūta*, Cambridge, 1956–7.

3. Persian

Minhāj Sirāj (1217), *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī*, ed. Habibi, 2 Vols., Kabul, 1963–4. Eng. tr. by H. B. Raverty, Bib. Indica, Calcutta, 1873–81, Reprint, Delhi, 1969.

Amīr Khusrau (1311–12), *Tārikh-i 'Alāī* or *Khāzain-ul Futūḥ*, ed. M. Wahid Mirza, Calcutta, 1953; Eng. tr. by Prof. M. Habib, *The Campaign of Alauddin Khalji*, Bombay, 1931.

————, (1318–19), *Nuh Siphr*, ed. M. Wahid Mirza, Islamic Research Association Series No. 12, Calcutta, 1950.

Isāmī (1350), *Futuḥ-us Salāṭīn*, M. Usha, Madras, 1948.

Firūz Shāh (1351–88), *Futūḥāt-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, ed. and Eng. tr. by S. A. Rashid and M. A. Makhdoomi, Aligarh, 1954.

Ẓiāuddin Baranī (1357), *Tārīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, ed. Saiyid Ahmad Khan, W. N. Lees and Kabiruddin, Bib. Indica, Calcutta, 1860–2.

————, (14th century), *Fatawā-i Jahāndārī*, ed. Dr Mrs Afsar Salim Khan, Research Society of Pakistan, Lahore 1972; tr. by Prof. M. Habib and Dr Mrs Afsar Salim Khan, *The Political Theory of Delhi Sultanate*, Delhi, 1957.

Yahya bin Aḥmad Sirhindī (1434), *Tārīkh-i Mubārak Shāhī*, ed. M. Hidayat Husain, Bib. Indica, Calcutta, 1931; tr. by K. K. Basu, *Gaekwad Oriental Series*, Baroda, 1932.

Shahāb Ḥakīm (1469–1500), *Ma'asir-i Mahmud Shāhi*, ed. Nurul Hasan Ansari, Delhi.

Bāyizīd Bayāt (1591), *Tazkira-Humāyun O Akbar*, ed. Hidayat Husain, Calcutta, 1941.

Ab'ul Faẓl (1595), *A'īn-i Akbarī*, ed. H. Blochmann, Bib. Indica, Calcutta, 1867–77; Eng. tr. in 3 Vols., Vol. I, tr. by H. Blochmann (1868), II & III, by H. S. Jarrett, 1894, revised by D. C. Phillott, (I, 1927, 1939), J. Sarkar, (II, and III, 1949).

Muḥammad 'Abul Qāsim Firishta (1606–10), *Tārīkh-i Ferishtā*, ed. Maj. Gen. J. Briggs and Kh. Ali Khan Mushtaq, Lucknow, Nawal Kishore, 1864–5.

4. Hindi

Candra Bardai (about v.s. 1400), *Prithvīrāja Rāso*, ed. Mohanlal Vishnulal Pandia, Syam Sundar Das and Kunwar Kanhiya Ju, Nagari Pracārinī Granth Mālā Series Nos. 4–22, Benaras, 1904–17.

C. Traveller's Accounts

Beal, Samuel, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, 2 Vols., Reprint, Delhi, 1969.

Yuan Chwang or Hiuen Tsiang, *Hsi-yu chi* or *Siyu-ki.* Abridged tr. and commentary by T. Watters *On Yuan Chawang's Travels in India* (629–45 A.D.), 2 Vols., Delhi, 1973.

D. Modern Works

Agarwala, V.S., Catalogue of Mathura Museum, *JUPHS*, XXIV–XXV, 1951–2.

Altekar, A.S., *Rashrakuta and Their Times*, Poona, 1934.

————, *The Position of Women in Hindu Civilization*, Benaras, 1956.

————, *State and Government in Ancient India*, Delhi, 1958.

Ahmad, Sir Sayyid, *Āsar-us Sanādīd*, Delhi, 1965.

Archaeological Survey of India Reports, *Annual Progress Report of the Superintendents of Archaeological Survey of India Northern Circle*, 1901–02 to 1919, Government Press, Punjab and Allahabad.

————, *Annual Report of Indian Epigraphy*, 1945–6 to 1969–70, Delhi, 1946–71.

————, *Annual Report of Archaeological Survey of India*, 1904–5 to 1935–6, Calcutta.

————,*Indian Archaeology, A Review*, for the years 1950–1 to 1967–8, Delhi.

————, *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology*, 1940–1 to 1965–6, Kern Institute, Leyden.

Asraf, K. M., *Life and Conditions of the Peoples of Hindustan*, A.D. 1220–1550, Delhi, 1959.

Atul Krishna Sur, 'Gāhāḍavāls of Kannauj', *IHO*, March 1929, pp. 86–102.

Banerji, Sures Chandra, *A Companion to Sanskrit Literature*, Delhi, 1971.

Basham, A. L., *Studies in Indian History and Culture*, Calcutta, 1964.

————, *The Wonder That Was India*, London, 1967.

Bendrey, V.S., *Study of Muslim Inscriptions*, Bombay, 1944.

Bhattacharya, J. N., *Hindu Castes and Sects*, Calcutta, 1968.

Bhattacharya, H. D., *The Cultural Heritage of India*, 5 Vols., Calcutta, 1975–8.

Blakiston, J.F., *Catalogue of the Delhi Museum of Archaeology*, Calcutta, 1926.

Bloch, Marc, *Feudal Society*, tr. by L.A. Manyon, 2 Vols., London, 1961.

Blunt, E. A. H., *The Caste System of Northern India* (with Special References to the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh), Delhi, 1969.

Bose, N. S., *History of the Candellas*, Calcutta, 1956.

Brown, Percy, *Indian Architecture*, Islamic Period, Bombay, 1942.

————, *Indian Architecture*, Hindu Period, Bombay, 1976.

Buhler, George, *The Indian Sects of the Jains*, London, 1903.

Chandra, Moti, *Kāśi Kā Itihās*, Bombay, 1962.

Chaudhary, G. C., *Political History of Northern India, Jain Sources*, Amritsar, 1963.

Choudhary, Radhakrishna, *History of Muslim Rule in Trihut*, Varanasi, 1970.

Coulborn, Rushton, ed., *Feudalism in History*, London, 1956.

Crook, W, *The Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, 4 Vols., Reprint Cosmo Publications, 1974.

Cunningham, A., *Archaeological Survey of India Reports* (21 Volumes).
———, *The Ancient Geography of India*, Varanasi, 1963.
———, *Book of Indian Eras*, Delhi, 1971.
———, *Coins of Medieval India from the Seventh Century down to Muhammadan Conquest*, Delhi, 1967.
Day, U. N., *Medieval Malwa*, Delhi, 1965.
Desai, P. B., *Jainism in South India and Some Epigraphs*, Sivaraja Jain Granthmala, No. 6, Sholapur, 1957.
Dhavalikar, M. K., 'Sutradhara', *Annals of Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, LII, Poona, 1971, pp. 215–20.
Diskalkar, D. B., 'Development and Decline of Indian Epigraphy' *JIH*, XXXIII, pt. III, Trivandrum, 1955–6, pp. 289–311.
———, 'The Progress and Future of Indian Epigraphical Studies', *JIH*, pt. II, Trivandrum, 1955–6, pp. 131–53.
———, 'Materials on which Indian Epigraphical Records are Incised', *JIH*, XXXV, pt. III, Trivandrum, 1957–8, pp. 289–307.
———, 'Indian Epigraphical Literature', *JIH*, XXXVII, pt. III, Trivandrum, 1957–8, pp. 289–307.
———–, 'Indian Epigraphical Literature', *JIH*, XXXVII, pt. III, Trivandrum, 1959, pp. 319–39.
Dutta, N. K., *Origin and Growth of Caste in India*, II, Calcutta, 1965.
Dutta, R. C., *Later Hindu Civilization*, A.D. 500 to 1200, Calcutta, 1965.
Elliot, Henry and Beam, John, *Memoirs on the Races—Races of North Western Provinces of India*, 2 Vols., London, 1869.
Fergusson, James, *History of India and Eastern Architecture*, Delhi, 1972.
Führer, A., *Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions of North-West Provinces of Agra and Oudh*, Varanasi, 1967.
———, *Archaeological Survey of India, North-Western And Oudh*, Jaunpur, I, NS, Calcutta, 1889.
Ghoshal, U.N., *Contributions to the History of Hindu Revenue System*, Calcutta, 1929.
———, *The Agrarian System in Ancient India*, Calcutta, 1930.
———, *A History of Indian Political Ideas*, Oxford, 1959.
———, *Studies in India History and Culture*, Bombay, 1965.
Goetz, Herman, 'The Chronology of the Chand Dynasty and Medieval Monuments of Kumaon', *JIH*, XXIX, pt. I, Trivandrum, 1951, pp. 33–52.
Gopal, Krishan Kant, 'Feudal Composition of Army in Early Medieval India', *Journal of Andhra Historical Research* Society, XXVIII, pt. III & IV, Rajamundary, 1962–3, pp. 30–49.
Gopal, Lallanji, *The Economic Life of Northern India*, Delhi, 1965.
———, 'Quasi-Memorial Rights in Ancient India', *JESHO*, VI, pt. III, Leiden, 1963, pp. 296–308.
Growse, F. S., *Mathura, A District Memoir*, Benaras, 1883.
Habibullah, A. B. M., *Foundation of Muslim Rule in India*, Allahabad, 1961.
Habib, M. and Nizami, K.A., eds., *Comprehensive History of India, The Delhi Sultanate*, V, Delhi, 1970.
Habib, Irfan, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, London, 1963.

———, *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, Delhi, 1983.
———, 'Distribution of Landed Property in Pre-British India', *Enquiry*, New Series, II, No. 3, Winter 1963, pp. 21–75.
———, 'Economic History of Delhi Sultanate', *The Indian Historical Review*, Jan. 1978, ICHR, IV, No. 2, pp. 289–303.
Havell, E. B., *Indian Architecture*, London, 1914.
Hiralal., '*Inscriptions in Central Provinces and Berar*', Nagpur, 1916.
Hodivala, S. H., *Studies in Indo-Moslem History*, Bombay, 1939.
Hoey, W., 'Set Mahet', *JASB*, LXI, Calcutta, 1892, pp. 1–50.
Husain, Agha Mahdi, *Life and Times of Muhammad Bin Tughluq*, London, 1938.
———, *Tughluq Dynasty*, Calcutta, 1963.
Husain, Yusuf, *Glimpses of Medieval Indian Culture*, Bombay, 1962.
Ibbetson, D., *Punjab Cástes*, Lahore, 1916.
Jain, C.L., *Jain Bibliography*, Bharati Jain Parishad, Calcutta, 1945.
Jain, Muni Uttama Kamal, *Jain Sects and Schools*, Delhi, 1975.
Jain, Kamta Prasad, *Prācin Jain Lekh Saṁgradha*, I, Jain Sodhak, Vardha, 1926.
Jha, D. N., *Revenue System in Post Maurya and Gupta Times*, Calcutta, 1967.
Jain, Bhagcanda, *Deogarh Kī Jain Kalā Kā Sāṅskratic Addhyan*, Delhi, 1974.
Joshi, M. C., 'Metal Sculpture in the Kumaon Hills and Traditions about Pona Raja, *Journal of Oriental Institute*, XIX, No. 4, Baroda, June 1970.
Kane, P.V., *History of Dharam Śāstra*, 5 Vols., Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1930.
Keith, A.D., *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, Oxford, 1953.
Khan, Iqtidar Alam, *The Political Biography of a Mughal Noble, Munim Khan Khan-i Khanan, 1497–1575*, Delhi, 1973.
Kosambi, D.D., *An Introduction to the Study of Indian History*, Bombay, 1956.
———, *The Culture and Civilization of Ancient India*, London, 1965.
———, 'Indian Feudal Trade Charters', *JESHO*, II, Leiden, 1959, pp. 281–93.
Lal, K.S., *History of the Khaljis*, Delhi, 1967.
Macdonell, A.A. & Kieth, A.B., *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, 2 Vols., London, 1912.
Majumdar, R.C., ed., *The Struggle for Empire*, Bhartiya Vidya Bhavan Series, Bombay 1957.
———, *The Delhi Sultanate*, VI, Bhartiya Vidya Bhavan Series, Bombay, 1960.
Majumdar, B.P., *The Socio-Economic History of Northern India*, 11th & 12th Centuries, Calcutta, 1960.
Malcolm, Sir John, *A Memoir of Central India including Malwa*, 2 Vols., London 1824, 1832.
Misra, Nitya Nanda, 'Ancient Historical Monuments at Baijnath and at Dwarahata', *JUPHS*, VIII, pt. I, Lucknow, July 1935, pp. 71–86.
Misra, R.N., *Ancient Artist and Art Activity*, Simla, 1975.
Morland, W.H., *The Agrarian System of Moslem India*, Allahabad, 1929.
Mujeeb M., *Islamic Influence on Indian Society*, Delhi, 1972.

Munshi, R.N., *The History of the Qutb Minar (Delhi) with an account of the Inscriptions on the Minar,* Bombay, 1911.
Nahar, Puran Chand, *An Epitome of Jainism*, Calcutta, 1917.
————, *Jain Inscriptions*, 3 Vols., Calcutta, 1927.
Niyogi, Pushpa, *Contributions to the Economic History of Northern India*, Calcutta, 1962.
Niyogi, Roma, *History of Gāhāḍavāla Dynasty*, Calcutta, 1959.
Nizami, K.A., *Studies in Medieval Indian History*, Aligarh, 1956.
————, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India during 13th Century*, Delhi, 1974.
Ojha, Gauri Shankar, *Bhartiya Prācin Lipi Mālā*, Delhi, 1959.
Pogson, W.R., *History of the Boondelas*, Delhi, 1974.
Prasad, Ishwari, *A History of the Qaraunah Turks in India*, I, Allahabad, 1974.
Prasad, Pushpa, 'Two stone slab inscriptions of Keladi dynasty', *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, Jadavpur, 1974, pp. 459–64.
————, 'Hindu Craftsmen in Delhi Sultanate (an Epigraphic Study), *Indica*, Bombay, XXI, No. 1, 1984, pp. 11–15.
Premi, Pandit Nathua Ram, 'Parwār Jāti Ke Ithās Par Kuch Prakāsh', *Anekanta*, pt. 7, Delhi, 1940,. pp. 444–5.
Rai, Bahadur Prayag Dayal, Radha Kumud Mookerjee, *Descriptive List of Coins and Inscriptions*, Allahabad, 1936.
Ray, H.C., *Dynastic Hsitory of Northern India*, 2 Vols., Delhi, 1973.
Raychaudhuri, Tapan and Irfan Habib, eds., *The Cambridge Economic History of India*, 1200–1750, I, London, 1982.
Rodger, C.J., *Revised List of the Objects of Archaeological Interest in the Punjab*, Lahore, 1891.
Russell, R.V. and H. Lal, *Tribes and Castes of Central Provinces of India*, 4 Vols., Delhi, 1975.
Saeed, Mian Muhammad, *The Sharqi Sultanate of Jaunpur*, Karachi, 1972.
Sandesara, J. Bhōjilal, *Literary Circle of Mahāmātya Vastupāla*, Sri Bhadura Singh Sindhi Memoirs No. 3, 1953, pp. 35–57.
Sankalia, H.D., *Historico-Cultural Geography and Ethnography of Gujarat*, Poona, 1949.
Sewell, Robert and Dikshit, Sankara Balkrishna, *The Indian Calendar*, London, 1896.
Sharma, Dashrath R., *Early Chauhan Dynasties*, Delhi, 1959.
Sharma, R.S., *Aspects of Political Ideals and Institutions in Ancient India*, Delhi, 1959.
————, *Indian Feudalism*, Calcutta, 1956.
————, 'Land Grants to Vassals and Officials in Northern India' (A.D. 1000–1200), *JESHO*, IV, Leiden, 1961, pp. 70–105.
Sharma, V.D., *Delhi and Its Neighbourhood*, Delhi, 1964.
Sherring, M.A., Benaras, *The Sacred City of Hindus*, Delhi, 1976.
Shastri, Hira Nanda, *Catalogue of Lucknow State Museum*, Lucknow, 1915.
Shastri, Nemi Chandra, *Bhārtiya Jyotiṣha*, Benaras, 1976.
Shastri, Paramananda, 'Pattāvali of Balātakār Gaṇa in Nandi-Saṁgha', *Anekanta*, XVII, No. I, pp. 35–41, Delhi, 1964.

Siddiqui, I.H., 'The Composition of Nobility under the Lodi Sultans', *Medieval India — A Miscellany,* IV, pp. 10–67, Aligarh, 1977.
Sircar, D.C., *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, Varanasi, 1960.
———, *Indian Epigraphy*, Delhi, 1965.
———, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, Delhi, 1966.
———, *Land Lordism and Tenancy in Ancient and Medieval India revealed by Epigraphical Records,* Lucknow, 1969.
———, ed., *Land System and Feudalism in Ancient India,* Calcutta, 1966.
———, *Studies in the Political and Administrative System in Ancient and Medieval India*, Delhi, 1974.
Smith, V.A., 'Sravasti', *JRAS*, London, 1900, pp. 1–25.
———, 'The History of the City Kannauj and King Yasovarman', *JRAS*, London, 1908; pp. 765–93.
———, 'The History and Coinage of the Chandel (Chandella) Dynasty of Bundelkhand (Jejakābuhti)', *IA*, XXXVII, Bombay, 1908, pp. 114–48.
Stevenson, Sinclair, *The Heart of Jainism*, Bombay, 1915.
Tod, J., *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, ed. by W. Crooke, 3 Vols., London, 1920.
Tripathi, R.P., *Some Aspects of Muslim Administration*, Allahabad, 1956.
Tripathi, R.S., *History of Kannauj to the Moslem Conquest*, Delhi 1960,
Udgaonkar, Padam, B., *The Political Institutions and Administration of Northern India during Medieval Times from 750 to 1200* A.D., Delhi, 1969.
Upadhyay, Vasudeva, *Socio-Religious History of Northern India based on Archaeological Sources*, Varanasi, 1964.
Ved Prakash, 'The Qutb Minar from Contemporary and Near Contemporary Sources', *Proceedings of Indian History Congress,* Ranchi, 1964, pt. II, pp. 52–7.
Vogel, J. PH., *Catalogue of Delhi Museum of Archaeology*, Calcutta, 1908.
———, *Catalogue of Mathura Museum*, Allahabad, 1910.
Wright, Nelson, *Catalogue of the Coins of Indian Museum Calcutta*, Oxford, 1907.
Yadava, B.N.S., *Society and Culture in Northern India*, Allahabad, 1973.

E. Reference Works

Apte, V.S., *Sanskrit English Dictionary*, Varanasi, 1965.
Atkinson, E., *Statistical and Historical Account of the North-West Provinces*, volumes issued in various years for different divisions, Allahabad, 1875–94.
Bhadanta Ananda Kaushalyayani, *Pāli Hindi Kośa*, Delhi, 1975.
Blockman, D.L., Darke, *District Gazetteers of United Provinces of Agra and Oudh*, volumes issued in different years for various districts, Allahabad, 1929.
Currie, Robert, G., *Report of the Settlement of Shahajehanpore District*, Allahabad, 1874.
Dey, Nundo Lal, *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India*, Calcutta, 1899.

James Hasting, (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, New York. 1955.
Nevill, H.R., *District Gazetteers of United Provinces of Agra and Oudh*, Lucknow, 1922, Allahabad, 1926.
Otto Boehtlingk and Rudolph Roth, *Sanskrit-Woerterbuch*, 7 vols. St. Petersburg 1855–1875, Reprint: Osnabrueck Wiesbaden 1966.
Saletore, R.N., *Encyclopaedia of Indian Culture*, 2 vols., Delhi, 1981, 1982.
Wilson, H.H., *Glossary of Judicial and Review Terms*, Delhi, 1968.
Williams, Sir, M. Monier, *A Dictionary, English and Sanskrit*, Delhi, 1956.

Index

A

Ācārya, 93, 113, 114, 176, 201.
Afif, xvii, 23, 83
Agra, 47; Inscriptions, 111, 178, 213
Agarsen, ruler of Hissar district, 28
Agrawala, Bania's sept, 28
Agroha, 28 n.56
Agrotaka, sept of Banias, xxiii, 28, 31, 184, 198
Ahāradāneśvar Śrī Siṁghai, Jain title 199, 201
Ahmad Khān, son of Bahlol Lodi, 38
Ā'īn-i Akbarī, 83, n.98; 96
Ajayagarh, Ajayagaḍh, 134, 135, 143; Inscriptions xiv, xv, xxiii, xxviii, xxiv, 77, 90, 91, 100, 111, 112, 114, 115, 120, 122, 124, 142, 143, 149, 152, 155, 156, 157.
Ajayasiṁha, xiv, 92
Akbar, 120, 150
Ālambha Khān, Alp Khān, xv, 184, 195, 199
Allahabad inscription, 165, 206
'Alāuddīn Khaljī, Alavādi, xix, xxiii, xxvi, 18, 19, 218
Alāvadīna, 'Alāuddin Mas'ūd, 4, 12, 218
Amātya, xv, 160, 163
Ambala, 28
Ambika, wife of Alp Khān, xv, 184, 195
Andhra, 5, 13
Arhera village, 112
Arhāi Kangura Masjid, 45
Aram Shāh, 5
Aśvapati, Gajapati, Narapati rājatryadhipati, xviii, 56
Aśokan pillar inscription, 19, 32, 40
Aṣṭabhuja, 202, n.258
Atala Masjid inscription, xxv, 179, 180, 181
Aurangzeb, 150
Awadh, 6, 85
'Ayīsha, Āsā, (daughter of Bahlol Lodi), 38, 39, 40, 220
Ayodhya, 151

B

Bāchhil, Vachchil *gotra*, xxii, 80, 83, 87
Badaun, xxii, 80, 82, 84, 87.
Baghari or Bateswar Stone inscription, xxi, 47
Baghel chiefs, 206, n. 265
Bahādur Khān, 41, 220
Bahadar Khān, 220
Bahlim, 210, 211
Balātakāra Gaṇa (Gaṇa of Digambar sect), xxvii, 114, 193, 199, 201
Balban (Ghiyāṣuddiñ), xxiii, 4, 5, 12, 15, 218
Banda district, 205, 206
Banjāras, 211
Bansa Masjid, 170, n223
Bansi tehsil, xvi, 173
Bāolis, xxiv, 3, 6
Bara, 206, n264;
Baran, 46
Barani, xvi, xviii, xix, xxiii, 7, 28, 81, 82, 83, 174
Basti copper-plate inscription, xvi, 172
Basti district, 173
Battha Gahora, 161
Bāyizīd Bayāt, 150, 151
Belkhara pillar inscription, xiv, 56; pillar, xxvi
Belṣara, 57
Benaras, 150, 152, 161, 163
Bhāga, (division), 22, 69
Bhāga-bhoga (tax), xx, n19; 66, 99
Bahlol Lodi, 38, 39, 40, 117, 211, 218
Bhaṇḍāri, Bhandāragārpati Bhaṇḍāragārika, Bhaṇḍārgārādhikṛta, 107, 110, 135
Bhāradvāja *gotra*, 81, 83, 88, 144, 148

Bhaṭṭa, 81, 88, n. 111
Bhavabhūmipati, xviii
Bhitari Pillar Inscription, 171
Bhojavarman, Bhoja, Bhovarman, (a Candella ruler), xxi, 91, 122, 123, 131, 133, 135, 141, 143, 144, 145, 157
Bhojuka, 134, 140
Bhukti, xvi
Bhupāla, xviii
Bhūpa, 176
Bībī Rājī (Sharqi queen), 151
Bijayagarh stone inscription, 95
Bir Singh Deva, 205, 206
Biswi, 85
Buniyād, xiii

C

Cāhaḍa devapāla, (name of mason), xxv, 35, n.67
Cāṇḍāla, xxi, 98, 147
Candāla *Vaṁsa*, 217
Candella, xiii, xiv, xv, xx, xxi, xxvii, 71, 77, 96, 100, 107, 120, 123, 133, 134, 143, 144, 145, 152, 155, 156, 157, 182
Candella land grant, 83
Candi *Mahāyoga*, (great sacrifice for Durga), 92, 93
Candrabhāga, (name of the river), 13
Candradeva, (Gāhaḍavāla ruler), 66, 68
Cāṭas, 99, n.129; 148
Chandawar, xiv, 44, 92
Cauhanas, Cahamanas, 16, 17, 28, 30, 166, 173
Chandpur stone inscription, 111
Chanderi, 184, 202, 204
Charkhari, 107
Charkhari copper-plate inscription, xxi, xxiii, 95, 108, 144, 157
Charkhari rock inscription, 80
Chattari, 18
Chhandu race, 83
Chunar, 161
Chunar fort, 163; inscription, xv, xxiv, 160

D

Dabhuhaḍvarman, (ruler of Sondhi), 96
Dadhiwar, (fisherman), 147
Dahi *Viṣaya*, 96, 98
Dāni Vināyaka, (Ganesa), 120, 121
Dāru Karmakāra, (carpenter), xxv, 35
Daśarnādhināṭha, Daśaraṇa, (King of Eastern Malwa), 71 n.69; 76
Deh (village), xiii, xvi, 173
Delhi Mirat pillar inscription, 41
Delhi, 35, 83, 84, 157, 168, 182
Deogarh fort, xxiv, 94, 113, 158, 159, 160, 199, 201, 202, 203, 204, 207, 209.
Dhanika, 79, n.78, 87, n.108
Dharmaghosha *Gachcha*, 36
Dharmaśāla, xxiv, 7, 15
Dharmasingh, xvi, 172, 173, 176
Dharmuvānani, xxv, 35
Dhaurasamandara, (Daurasamudra), 6
Ḍhilli, Ḍhillika, (see Delhi), xvii, 13, 15, 16, 17, 22, 25, 27, 30
Diha, (see *deh*)
Dihuli inscription, 199
Dilawar Khān Sarvani, Dilāwar Khāt, 38, 39, 40, 218
Dilāwar Khān, (King of Malwa of Ghorian dynasty), 184, n. 244
Divija, xxiii
Dvijendra, 48
Doab, 85
Dramma, xvii, xxii, 79, 84
Drāviḍa, 5, 12
Durgādhikari, 134
Dutas, 134

E

Etah district, 116, 204
Etawah, xxiv, 92; fort inscriptions, xxvii 43, 92, 117, 118, 165, 166, 167, 168

F

Fatawā-i Jahāndāri, xxiii, n. 24
Fīrūz Shāh's *lāt*, 34
Fīrūz Tughluq, Peroj-Sāhi, xvi, xxv, 18, 19, 20, 33, 34, 40, 117, 166, 167, 170, 171, 172, 174, 218
Futūḥāt-i Fīrūz Shāhī, 33

Futuh-us Salātīn, xvii, 83

G

Gadan Khān, 210, 211
Gadhipura (Kanauj), 59, 66
Gāhaḍavāla, xiii, xiv, xx, 43, 44, 56, 57, 59, 60, 61, 83, 92, 107, 114
Gahapati (branch of Jains), 115, 116
Gaj (*Gaz*), 34
Gajjana (Ghazni), 5, 12
Gaṇapati (Lord of Gaṇa), xxvi
Gaṇḍa (Candella ruler), xxi, 134, 139
Garg *gotra*, 81, 83, 88, 184, 198
Gauda, Gaur, (Bengal), 5, 6, 12, 13
Ghari, 21
Ghazipur, 171
Ghiyāṣuddin Balban (see Balban)
Ghiyāsuddīn Tughluq, 218
Ghor, 92
Ghori, Gauri, Gori, xiii, v, 43, 45, 117, 184, 195, 199
Ghorians, 92
Golaratak (sect of Jain school), 118, 119
Gorakhpur, 174
Gotra, xxii, 66
Govindacandra (Gāhaḍavāla ruler), 59, 67
Govindadeva (name of a merchant), 26
Grāma, xvi, 88
Gudāṁta patra, xxii, 81, 88, 89
Gurajjar, Gurjara, xvii, 5, 6, 94
Gujarat, 168
Gurha *sati* stone inscription, 96

H

Hammir (Arabic, Amir), xviii, 5, n. 7; 12, 59, n. 46; 218
Hammira Gayasdīna (see Balban)
Hammirpur, 144; inscription, 154
Hammirvarmandeva, (Candella ruler), 123, 144, 147, 152, 155, 156, 157
Hariman Gaveri (mason's name), xxv, 22
Hariyanā (Hariyānaka), 4, 12, 15, 16, 17, 25, 28, 30
Hariścandradeva (Gāhaḍavāla ruler), 58, 59, 68
Hissar, 28
Holi (son of Alp Khān), xv, 184, 195, 196, 197, 198
Hoshang Shāh (see Alp Khān)
Humayun, 122

I

Ibn-i-Baṭṭutāh, 28
Ibrahim Khān, 206
Iltutmish, (Samasdin, Samasadi, Sultan Ilititimisi; Shamsuddīn Iltutmish), xxii 4, 12, 51, 80, 81, 84, 85, 87, 218.
Indraprastha, Indrapat, xvii, 22, n. 47; 23, 31, n. 59, 44, 59
Indrasthāniyaka, 59
Inscription in Lucknow Provincial Museum, 210
Inscription at Ramgaya, 21
Iqbal Khān, 167
Isāmi, xvii, 28, 83

J

Jalādino (Jalāluddīn Firūz Khalji), 16, 17, 218
Jalāluddīn Raẓiyya (Jalāladina, Jalaldin), 4, 5, 12, 218
Jalakara, 60
Janakamatra, 21
Jain inscriptions, xviii, xxvii, xxviii, 35, 94, 112–13, 115, 117–18, 155–6, 158–60, 199, 201–04, 207, 209.
Jami Mosque, 150
Janapada, 68
Jaunpur, 150
Jaunpur brick inscription, 78
Jayaccandra (Jaicanda, Jaiccandra), xiv, 44, 57, 58, 59, 67, 68, 83, 92, 93
Jayapuradurgga, xv, 91, 115, 134, 142, 143
Jaya, 140, 141
Jayadurga, 122, 124
Jayapura, 116, 124, 133
Jayapurvva, 157, 158
Jayavarmadeva, (Candella ruler), 103, 121

Jejākabhukti, 91, n. 119
Jhansi, 113, 159, 170, 182
Jhansi stone inscription 96
Jhansi fort inscriptions, 106, 108, 206
Jital, xvii, 84
Jogitirtha (Soron), xvii, 204

K

Kabar, 6
Kalachuri inscription, 214
Kalayāndevi, (chief queen of Viravarmman, a Candella ruler). 100, 104, 105
Kalidas, 106
Kalinjar (fort), xxvi, 157, 164, 217
Kalinjar fort inscriptions, xv, xxiii, 71, 90, 96, 98, 107, 121, 134, 139, 147, 207, 208, 212, 215.
Kamau (mason's name), xxv
Kanauja (Kānayakubja), 57, 58, 59, 83, 92, 93, 95
Kanta Gola, (Sarkar Badaun), 83
Kapildhara tank, 46, n. 7
Kapildhara stone inscription, 46
Kara, 38
Karnāta (Karnataka), 5, 6, 13
Kashmir, 6
Kāśi, xv, 59, 66, 150, 151, 160, 162
Kasrak, 80, 81, 84, 87, 88
Kaśyapa *gotra*, 58, 69, 96, 99, 130
Katehar, 84
Kauśambi or Kosam, 124
Kauśamyapura (for Kosambi), xvii, 123, 130
Kauṭilya, 61
Kāyasthas, 98, 124, 130, 138, 143, 147, 177
Keralas, 5, 13
Khetal (name of a merchant), 27, 31
Khadga (goad), 172
Khairabad, 83
Khajuraho, 115
Khazāin-ul Futūḥ, xix, n. 13
Khusrau Amir, 6, 18
Khusrau Shāh or Khusrau Malik, (Ghazanavide ruler), 59
Khuduvaḍīna (identified with Quṭbu'-ddīn Aibek,) 4, 12, 218
Khwāja Jahan, (Wazir of Muḥammad-bin Tughluq), 170
Khwaja Kamāl Khan-i Jahān, 179
Khwaja Muḥammad, 205
Kirātas, (a tribe), 13
Kīrtivarman (a Candella King), xxi, 90, 100, 103, 121, 134, 139
Kīrttimeruduraga (famous and strong fort), 171
Kīrttistambha, xxvi, 21
Kośādhikārādhipati, 135
Kumar, *Kuṁar*, (a title), 209
Kuśika (place-name), 59, 66
Kusumbhapura, 6, n. 13
Kuti (cell), 43, 92, 165

L

Ladnu (a place in Jodhpur), 6
Lahaur, 6
Lakśmi (goddess), 13, 66
Lāta, 5, 13
Lalitpur, 107, 111
Lalitpur ('Lalatpur') stone inscriptions, xv, 170, 171, 183
Lal Darwaza Masjid, xxv, 95, 151, 181
Laṣman (name of a mason), xxv, 22, 33
Lāt (pillar), 150
Lauri inscription, 205
Lavaṇādhyaksha, 61
Lavaṇakara, 60
Lavaṇabhāga, 61
Lekhapaddhati, 78, n. 75
Leva Sati Stone Inscription, 182
Lola (name of a mason), 33

M

Ma'asir-i Mahmud Shāhi, 184, 185, n. 247, 202
Ma'bar, 6
Machchlishahr copper-plate inscription, 58, 92

Madanapala (Gāhaḍavāla ruler), 59, 66, 68
Madan (Candella king), 48, 91, 98
Madanvarman, 47, 48, 52, 54
Mahā Bhaṇḍāgārikā, 107, 110, 135
Mahājana, 7, 81, 88, n. 116
Mahāksapaṭalika, xx, 60, n. 49
Mahamad Sām, Mad Hammir, (Maḥamad bin Sām), 218
Mahārājā, 92, 145
Mahārājā Ajayasiṁha, 92, 93.
Mahārājā Jai Singh, xvi, 172, 173, 174, 176
Mahārājā Virajadeva, xvi, 165
Mahārājadhirāja, xv, 165, 201, 203, 219
Mahārājadhirāja Parameśvara, 145
Mahārājādhiraja Mahamud (Khalji ruler of Malwa), 219
Maharashtra, 5
Mahicandra (Gāhaḍavāla King), 66
Mahipati (title), 182
Maḥmud Shāh (see Khalji Sulṭān Maḥmúd, ruler of Malwa), xv
Mahoba, xv, 47
Mahoba Fort copper-plate inscription, 80, 119
Mahoba stone inscription, 91
Mai (Mayunagari village in Jaunpur), 78, 79
Malikđīn (identified with Quṭbu'ddin Aibak), xxvi, 2, 3, 218
Malik, Shāhabuddīn, 220
Malik Sāhavadina, 220
Malik, Sikandar, 167
Malik Turk, (also Malak Turk), 170, 171, 220
Malwa, 184, 185, 195, 202, 203, 204
Mandala, 83
Mandapa, 200, 201.
Mandapapura (Mandu), xviii, 184, 195
Māṁgodalā, Village, 177
Mani Karnikā Ghāt inscription, 152
Manikarnikeśvara, (*Śiva* temple), 153
Mandu, 184
Manikapur, 38
Manu Vijaya (name of architect), x, xvi
Marpha (fort), xxiv
Marpha fort inscription, (also spelt as Maddrapp) xvi, 164, 169
Maujadina (Mu'izzuddin Bahram), 4, 12, 218
Maukhari inscription, 150
Mathura stone inscription, 176, 178
Māthura Kāyastha, 177
Mawās, 82
Mehar, (menial labourers of Maratha country), 147
Mehta (a title of merchant), 7
Meerut (Mirat), 20, 32, 211
Minhāj-Sirāj, xviii, 4, 81
Miranpur Katra, 82.
Mirat (see Meetur)
Mirzapur *satī* stone inscription, 202
Miyān, (title), 206
Miyān Bhikan, (also spelt as Miyān Bhikam), 205, 206
Mleccha, xviii, 30, 92, 93.
Mubarkapur Koṭla inscription 37
Muhammadan, 117
Muḥammad Tughluq (also Muhammad Surtrāṇa, Mahmad Shāhi, Surtrāṇa Mahmud Sāhi, Pātisāha Mahammada), xv, 19, 20, 21, 22, 25, 28, 30, 160, 163, 167, 168, 171, 218.
Mulasaṁgha, (Jain school), 112, 113, 114, 115, 118, 119, 159, 193, 194, 199, 201
Multāni (merchant of Multan), xxiii, 7
Muni Kundakunda, 112, 113, 119, 201
Mu'izzuddīn Bahrām, 218
Mu'izzuddīn of Ghor, 92
Mu'izzuddīn Kaiqubād, 218
Muqqadam, 166
Muqta, 38
Murād Khātūn, 'Bibi Murādi Khatu', (daughter of Dilāwar Khān), 38, 39, 40, 220
Murid, 38

N

Nagara, xvi
Nānā (name of a mason), xxi, xxv, 33, 35

Nānā (minister of Bhojavarmana, Candella ruler), 122, 123, 131
Nandin (Śiva's Bull), 46
Nandipura (Ajayagaḍh), xv, 105
Nandi saṁgha (Jain sect), xxvii, 114, 158, 159, 193
Naraina, Nāḍāyana (village in Delhi), xxiii, 22, 23, 26
Naraini pillar inscription, 213
Narasiṁha (man-lion incarnation), xxvii
Nārāyaṇa (title), 176
Nasaradina (Nāsiruddin Mahmud), 5, 12, 218
Nāth (title), xviii
Nāyaka, xix, n. 12; 116, 120, 121
Nigohi, 82
Nṛpa, xv, 157
Nṛpati, xviii
Nuh-Sipihr, 6

P

Padameśvara temple, 150
Paitala (also Paituka; name of a merchant), 27, 31
Pala *rājās*, 161
Palamba, Palam, Palamn, xvii, 3, 6, 15
Pamahai (village), 58, n. 39; 68
Pana, 84
Pañcaparmeṣthi, 113, n. 149
Pandit (title for merchant), 7
Panjnād, 7
Pāndyan, 6
Paramabhattārākatyādi, 56, 87
Paramaras, 107
Paramarddideva, Paramarddi (Candella ruler), xv, xxiii, 47, 48, 53, 54, 55, 71, 76, 77, 98, 104, 107, 119, 134, 139, 144, 147
Paramarddi II, 182, 183
Parameśvara, Mahārājādhirāja — Paramabhaṭṭāraka rājavali tray opeta, xvii, 96
Paraṇakara, 60, 61
Parganā, xvi, 23, 28, 82, 83, 96
Patal-sar, (tank), 47
Patman, (mason), xxv.
Pāṭaka, (hamlet), 58, n. 40
Pātishāh or *Pati sāha*, *Pādshah* or *Bādshah*, xviii, 39, 218
Paṭṭala, 83
Paurapada, 199, 201.
Pheruz Sāhi (Ruknuddin Fīrūz), 4, 12, 218
Peroj Sāhi (see Fīrūz Tughluq)
Phaphund Khān, 206
Plava (an era), xxviii, 149, n. 195
Prabhācandra Suri (Jain teacher), 158, 159
Prakarya, 61
Praroda race, 110
Prastha (village), 16, 18
Pratigaṇaka or *Pratigaṇa*, xvi, 23, 28, 31, 82, n. 88; 83, 85, 88
Pratiharas, 134
Pratoli (street), 134, 139, 140.
Pravaṇikara (tax on merchant), 60, 69
Pṛthvirāja (Cauhan ruler), 2, 44
Pṛthvicandra (title), xviii
Pṛthvivarman, Candella ruler, 104, 121
Pura, xvi.
Purohita, 92

Q

Qasbā (town), 23
Qutb Minar, xxvi, 18
Qutb Minar inscription, xv, 1, 18, 20, 21, 32, 33, 36, 37, 216, 217
Quṭbu'ddin Aibek, (see Khuduvadina)

R

Rahahiguka, 69
Rāj (Kingdom), 211
Rājā, 7, 134, 173, 206, 209
Rājā Bahadin, xvi
Rājā Siddhitung, xvi, 164
Rājā Vir, 209
Rājā Ven, 83
Rājapati, xviii.
Rājaputra, 78
Rajagathi inscription, 159

Rāi, Rae, xvi, 44, 167, 173, 174, 176
Rāi Sabir and Adharan, or Sabirudharan, 166, 167, 168
Rānā, 7, 44, 167
Rāṇaka, xviii, xix, xxii, 56, n. 34; 78, 106, 107, 110.
Rāṇaka Abhayadeva, xxii, 106, 110
Rāṇaka Śri Vāghadeva, xxii, 79
Rāṇaka Vijayakaraṇa, 56, 57
Rasin stone inscription, 182
Rāuta (*Rā*), xviii, xix, xxii, 51, n.33; 78, 80, 81, 84, 87, 88, 89, 99, 105, 106, 107, 110
Rāuta Abhi, 96, 99
Rāuta Ananda, 56, 57
Rāuta Sadheka, xxii, 106, 110
Rewa, 161
Rohitaka (known as Rohatgis, a Baniyas sept), xxiii, 16, 17, 23, 26
Rohtaka (Hariyaānā), 16
Rohtasgarh (Bihar), 16
Ruknuddin Firūz (see Pheruz Sāhi).
Rupaka, (coin) 84

S

Saciva, xxi, 48, 120, 121
Sāhavadīna, (Shahābuddīn Mu'izzuddin), 4, 12, 218
Sahāvadīna, (Shahabuddin Muḥammad of Ghor), 28, 30, 43, 44
Sāhi, xiii, 143, 147
Sairāja, V, 160, 163
Śaka, viii, 16, 17, 25
Sakrsiṁha, (Tirhut ruler), 153
Sāl (year), 209
Sālha, (name of mason), 33, 35
Sallakśaṇa (minister of Paramārddi), 48
Sallakśaṇa (Candella prince), 103
Sulkshaṇa Varmma, 121
Saṁgam, 165
Saṁghadhipati or *Saṁghapati*, 201, 204
Saṁdhān-vigrahamāhā saciva, (war and peace minister), 48
Saṁgtrāśa (*Sangtarāsh*), xiii, 216, 217
Samasadīn (see Iltutmish).
Sarban (village in Delhi, 'Sarvala', earlier form), xxiii, 27, n. 54, 55; 31
Sārnet (a clan of Rajputs), xvi, 173
Sarvāni (Sarwāni), 39, 220
Satadru (river Sutlej), 13
Satī (Suttee), 155, n. 205; 169, 170, 177, 207.
Satī inscriptions, 144, 155, 157,
Satī pillar inscription, xxiv, xxvi
Satī Burj, 178
Ṣaṭṭṛsmśatyādaya, Saṭṭramsat, Saṭṭraṁsatya or *Ṣaṭṭraṁsa*, xxii, 81, 83, 85, 88, 89
Saurājya, 5, n.9
Sauri (Viṣṇu), 47, 52
Serāti, Shairāni, Sārāti, 38, 39, 40, 220
Setubandha (Adam's Bridge), 5, 12
Shad-boddika dramma, 78, 79
Shāhabuddīn, Malik Shāhabuddiñ, or Sāhabdin, (army commander of Sairaja) 160, 163
Shāh (title for merchant), 7
Shāh (title for ruler), 184, 195, 199
Shahjahanpur, 82, 83
Shaikh, 211
Shaikh Bāyazīd, Bājīd, 38, 39, 40
Shaikh Ayiya Bājīd, Yaḥāya Bāyizīd, 220
Shaikh Sikandar Sarati or Serati, 38, 39, 40
Shaikh Yahya Sarati, or *Shaikh* Ahiya, (father of Bāyazīd), 38, 39, 40
Sharqi, xiii, 206
Sher Khān, Ser Khān, 170, 171, 220
Siddhi Ki Gupha, 209
Sikandar Lodi, Sikandar Shah, 37, 38, 39, 170, 210, 218, 219
Śilpi, xxv, n.27; 181
Sindh, Sindhu, (Indus), 6, 14
Sindh river (Central India), 96, 108
Sindhādhipati, 20
Sondhi (Kanhargarh), 96
Son stone inscription, 196
Soron, inscription at Sītā Rāmjī Kā Maṇḍir, 116, 117, 204
Sukarokshetra, Svargdvisika (Soron), xvii, 116, n.154; 204
Śulka (toll), 60

Sulṭān Alavadi, (see 'Alāuddīn Khalji)
Sulṭān Gayāsadi, (see Balban)
Sulṭān Gayāṣsudin, (see Ghiyāṣuddin Tughlaq)
Sulṭān Ibrāhim Lodi, 41, 218.
Sulṭān Mahmud (Khalji ruler of Malwa), xv, 201, 202, 203, 204
Sulṭān Mu'izzuddīn Sam, 33
Sulutrāṇa or Sultrāna, Suratrāṇa, xv, xviii, xxii, 21, 40, 171, 172, 178, 204, 218
Śuroddharana, xv, 166, 167, 168, 169
sutar, *Satrgar*, xxv, 208
Sūtradhāra, (*Sutra*), xxv, n. 28, xxvi, 200, 201
Svāmirāja, (ruler of Chunar), xv, 160, 161, 163

T

Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī, xviii. n. 9; 44, 81, n. 80.
Tanka, xvii, 84, 174
Tarain, 44
Tazkira Humāyūn o Akbar, 150.
Tārīkh-i Firūz Shāhi, xvi, n. 5; xviii, n. 9, xix, xxiii, 14, 81, 82, 87
Tārīkh-i Firūz Shāhi, (Afif), xvii, 83
Tārīkh-i Mubāraka Shāhi, xv, 166, 174
Tājul Mulūk, 167
Ṭhakkura, xviii, xix, n.15; xx, n.15; 15, 46, n.10; 58, 59, 69, 70, 91, 111, 115, 124, 133, 134, 140, 142, 143, 148
Ṭhakkura Akhau, 91
Ṭhakkura Ayo, 124, 133
Ṭhakkura Bhogoditya, 59, 70
Ṭhakkura Bhojuka, Bhojaka, 111, 134
Ṭhakkura Laksmidhara, 46
Ṭhakkura Madanu, 58, 69
Ṭhakkura Sopala, 69
Ṭhakkura Vidana, 115, 134, 140, 142, 143
Ṭhākura, 214
Tilhar tehsil, 82
Tilang, 6
Tomars, 16, 17, 28, 30
Topra Delhi pillar inscription, 40
Trailokyavarman (Candella ruler), 77, 98, 104, 107, 111, 121, 134, 140, 144, 147
Trilok Barm Deo, 119
Tripāthi, 172, 173, 174, 176
Tumtuma (village) 96, 98
Turuṣaka, *Turak*, *Turka*, xviii, 28, 43, 160, 163.

U

Uccakara, xxv, xxvi, 51
Ucca, or Uccapuri, 7, 14
Uddhara *Ṭhakkura*, 6, 7, 13, 14, 15
Ukalakshetra (see Sukarakshetra)
Umarvidarāz, 41
Uttarakosala, 66

V

Vaṁśa, 90
Vāmanavatāra (the dwarf incarnation), xxvii
Vardhamāna Mahodaya (prosperous Kanauj), 185, 192, 195
Vardhamān (name of scribe), 184, 185, 195, 198
Varanasi, 45, 46, 59
Variyan, (Yoga), 39, n. 73
Vaśistha *gotra*, 48
Vāstavya (Kāyastha), xxi, 46, n. 11; 90, 123, n.160; 130, 133, 134, 138, 140, 143
Vatsa *gotra*, 83, 111
Vetravati river, 96, 108
Vijaya Lekha, (Victory record), 43
Vijayacandra, (Gāhadavāla ruler), 45, 59, 66, 68, 95
Vijayasena, 43, 45
Vilāspur, 96, n.125; 99
Vijayastambha, (victory pillar), xxvi
Vimśopaka, xvii, xxii, 81, 84, 88, 89
Vipāsa, 13
Vīrabrahma, 106, n.137; 109, 110
Vīrasen, 43, 45
Vīravarman, Vīra, Vīravarmma (Caṇdella ruler), xiv, xv, xxi, xxii, 91, 96, 98,

104, 105, 107, 108, 111, 113, 115, 116, 120, 121, 123, 144, 147
Vīravarmma II, Vīra, (Candella ruler), 156, 157, 158
Vireśavara, (a minister of Sakarsimha, Tirhut ruler), 153, 154
Visadru, xxv
Visaihava, (mason), xxv
Viṣaya, (*Viṣ*), xvi, n.6, xxi, 96, 144, 145, 147
Viśisa (title), xxi, 134, 139, 140
Viśvakarma (Divine Architect), xxvi, 34, 35
Viśvesvara temple, or Bisheswara temple, 150, 151
Vitasta, 13
Vodamayutā, 80
Vṛṣabhadhvaja temple, 46, n.9
Vuḍhana (minister of Sikandar Lodi), 210, 211.

W

Wazir, 170

Y

Yavana, xviii, 93, 94, 163
Yognipura, xvii, 13
Yaśovigraha, (Gāhaḍavāla ruler), 59, 66
Yaśovarman, (Candella ruler), 47, 48

Z

Zamindars, 83, 85

OTHER OXFORD TITLES

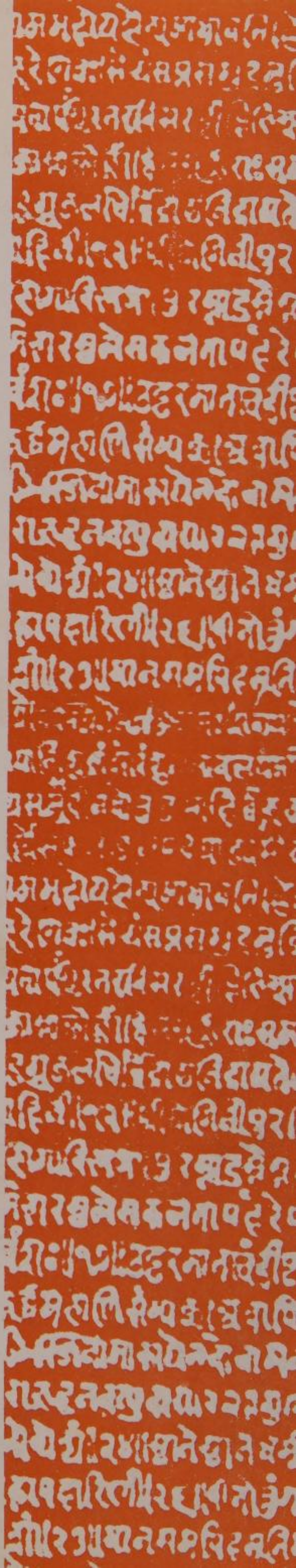
The Mythology of Brahma
GREG BAILEY

Ratnākara's Haravijaya
An Introduction to the Sanskrit Court Epic
DAVID SMITH

Viśvarupa
T. S. MAXWELL

Oxford University Papers on India
Volume 2 Part 1
Indian Ritual and its Exegesis
RICHARD F. GOMBRICH (Ed.)

The Perfect Wife
The Orthodox Hindu Woman According to the Stridharmapaddhati of Tryambakayajvan
JULIA LESLIE

Rs 200

SBN 0 19 562123 9